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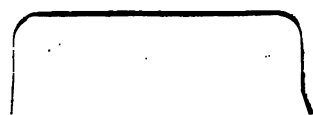
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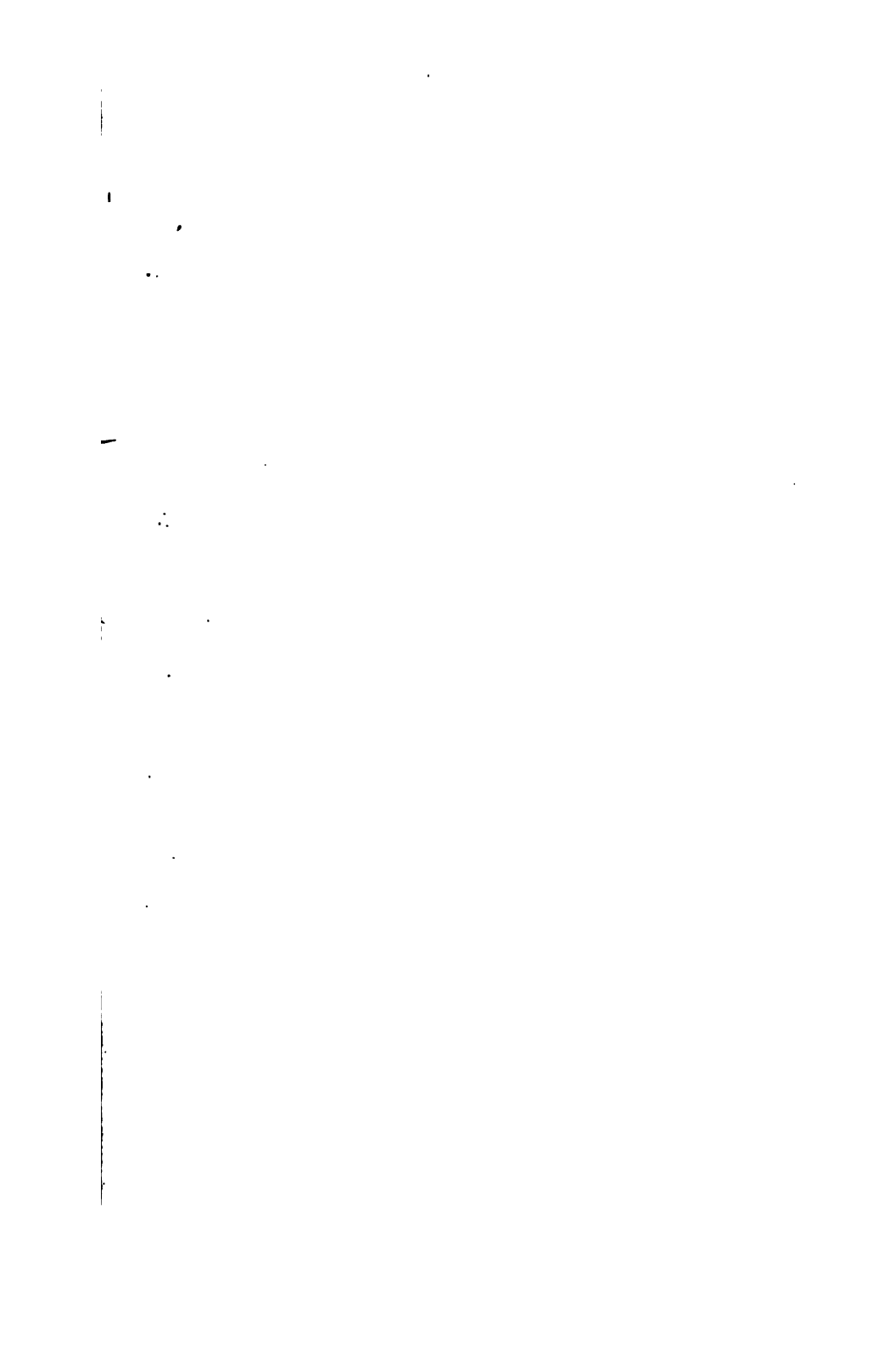
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION

In the YEAR 1715.

WITH
ORIGINAL PAPERS,
AND THE
CHARACTERS

Of the PRINCIPAL
NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN
Concern'd in it.

By the Reverend
Mr. *ROBERT PATTEN*,
Formerly Chaplain to Mr. FORSTER.



THE THIRD EDITION.

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T O T H E
Lieutenant-Generals
CARPENTER and W I L L S,
A N D
The rest of the Commanding Officers
of his Majesty's Forces at the Attack
at *Preston*.

G E N T L E M E N,

AS you had the Honour to command his Majesty's Troops against the Rebels at *Preston*, in honour to your Courage and Conduct I thought myself engag'd, when I undertook the writing this short History of the Rebellion, to do you that Justice which is due to your Merit, by assuring the World that it was to your prudent Management and unshaken Bravery, animated by the Justice of the Cause, the signal Defeat of that Day was justly owing. There have been some indeed, with a View to lessen the Characters of brave Men, in the way of arrogating Praise to their own

DEDICATION.

Party, who have pretended to assert the contrary (some of which kept themselves warm in a Chimney-Corner during the Heat of the Action;) but I, who was an Eye-witness to all the great and resolute Attacks made by you under the greatest Disadvantage imaginable, can boldly affirm, that never did Men behave better, especially in your Circumstances, being all the time naked, and expos'd to the Fire of the Rebels from Windows, Barriers, and Entrenchments, &c. All which, I presume, will appear in the following History, humbly dedicated to you by,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient Servant,

Robert Patten.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE following Sheets are what I may justly call,
An Impartial History of the late Rebellion.
*If it seem to you that I treat some of my Brethren the
Clergy a little too smartly, I protest it is out of no
Disrespect to their Persons, much less to the Sacred
Function they bear, which I retain the greatest Vene-
ration and Respect for, notwithstanding any Calumnies
that may be laid to my Charge.*

*Amidst some strange Notions broach'd amongst us,
it ought to be Matter of our grateful Returns to Hea-
ven, that we have still a Set of Reverend, Learned,
and Pious Divines; who, animated by a true Spirit
of Piety, by their Example, Pen, and Preaching, are
eminent Ornaments to the Establish'd Government in
Church and State; whose serious Admonitions and
grave Counsels, if duly regarded, would speedily and
effectually redress all our Grievances and Divisions.
However the Reflections may seem to others, I must
own they have been of singular Use to me; for whilst I
continued among those Unfortunate Gentlemen (whose
Principles were once my own) I look'd no farther than
esteeming what I had done, the least Part of my Guilt.
But no sooner was I removed into the Custody of a*

The Preface to the Reader.

Messenger, and there closely confined, where I had Leisure to reflect upon my past Life, (and especially that of engaging in the Rebellion) than a great many Scruples offered themselves to my Consideration. In consequence of which, I made it my Request to Lord Townshend, that he would be pleased to allow a Clergyman to converse with me: which that Noble Lord freely granted, and sent to me the Reverend Dr. Cannon, a Man of singular good Temper and Literature, who applied his best Endeavours to satisfy me in every Point and Query I proposed; in which his Learning and solid Reasoning prevailed upon me: For which good Service, my best Wishes shall always attend him.

From thence I began to think it a Duty incumbent on me, to make all the Reparation I could, for the Injury I had done the Government: And, as the first thing in that way, I became an Evidence for the King; which I am far from being ashamed of, let what Calumnies will follow. In the Interim, I cannot but particularly observe one thing, in opposition to what has been printed and reported by the Enemies of the Government, viz. That the King's Witnesses were brib'd and Brow-beaten, to extort from them the Matters which they gave in Evidence.

As to my own part, and I dare say I may speak it for others, I never knew any thing of this kind: But in Honour to those who were employed to take my Examination, I must affirm, that I was used in the most Gentleman-like manner, far from extorting any thing by such base Arts, which no doubt would e're now have appear'd under the foulest Reflections; seeing the other Party did not stick to bribe all that would take their Money, and by that means too frequently gained their Ends: While on the other hand, it may be said in the Face of Heaven, That fairer Trials were never allowed, at least to Men who so little deserv'd it.

*I pray God, that the Clemency shewn them may not be a Temptation to them to repeat their Crimes; from
which,*

The Preface to the Reader.

which, of his infinite Mercy, I beg he will deliver these Kingdoms.

It is worth Observation, that nothing contributed more to raise the People of this Nation to a Spirit of Rebellion, than the licentious Freedom of some in their publick Discourses, and others in their Addresses, to cry up the old Doctrines of Passive Obedience, and to give Hints and Arguments to prove Hereditary Right; then publick Shews were encouraged with designing Emblems and legible Badges of their Ends; then ill-natured Distinctions and Designations were fomented, and with Malice upbraiding one another. This introduced Mobs; so that the Party in Disgrace with the Court had their own Houses, and those of their Worship, pulled about their Ears, themselves insulted and assaulted by the very Dregs of the People; Like a Flood they carried all before them without Check or Controul. Nay, their ill Nature could not be confined within these Realms; but they found Means to raise the basest of Reflections, and the worst of lying Stories, upon the most Illustrious House in Europe, that had a just Title to the Imperial Diadems of these Kingdoms, with no other Design but to blacken with their foul Breath their Persons and bright Characters. I am ashamed that I, with so many deluded People, upon bare Reports, should be blindly led to give Credit to such incredible Legends and Lies reported by the Fomenters of the late Rebellion; but being prepared with the noisy Notion of the Church's being in danger, easily complied with the Party, Healtbs and full Bumpers were tossed about with disguis'd Names, Characters, and Wishes, and concluded with Confusion, Damnation, and Destruction to Others whom they durst not name. Did not all these Concurrences spirit up the Populace to be guilty of so many egregious Miscarriages, as they have been of late towards his Sacred Majesty King GEORGE? So by degrees, they abandon'd all Reverence, Respect, nay, Obedience due to him, and lifted themselves in open Defiance and Rebel-

The Preface to the Reader.

tion to his Laws, and against his Person and Family: So true is the old Proverb, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*. Though it had been the Care and indefatigable Pains of some, during some Part of the Reign of the late Queen; yet if the latter Part was Tory, the first Part so established the other Party, well inclined to the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover, that nothing could have so speedily undone such a cemented and solid Establishment, but some more Years Countenance under a blinded Patron. How many have the Disappointments been, which that aspiring Party have met with since the late Revolution under King William? And yet their Managers still indulge the Infatuation. The very Disappointments they met with lately by the Death of a nursing Parent, and the King of France: Their many private Plots were all made ineffectual, and their declared Force useless. Yet when the Turk threatened Europe, then he was to be the Restorer; but when so many Turk Tories were killed by the brave Prince Eugene, then they grew flat. Then the King of Sweden appeared in their Cause: The Purse was opened, and their Minds declared, by large Encomiums on his Force, his Conduct, his Resolution, and invincible Courage; which were now levelled against King GEORGE in behalf of their Darling: So true is the old Saying, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*.

Yet it is reasonable to imagine that His Majesty's most gracious Clemency and Mercy shewn to these Gentlemen, will inspire them with grateful Returns of Thankfulness, and make them peaceable and passive during the Enjoyment of those Years he has granted them.

But so ungenerous are some, that they upbraid His Majesty with Cruelty, for the few Examples made of those that suffered. May not this Question be put to these People; Did not the Blood spilt at Preston require no Satisfaction, considering how it was spilt? Yet there have not suffered upon that Account the fourth
Part,

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Part, in proportion to those that were killed, (I should have said murdered). Did not the Blood shed at Sheriffmore, though not so brutally as that at Preston, require some Satisfaction? And yet not one has suffered upon that Account? So variable are our human Passions, that those who have been the Objects of our greatest Indignations, when we consider the Nature of their Guilt, that our greatest Resentments to their Persons for their Crimes, is expressed with the utmost Abhorrence; yet when these Wretches are brought to Judgment, and are going to receive the just Reward of their Crimes, our Bowels commiserate, our Eyes bewail them, when before they were condemned to greater Severities by ourselves, than they receive from their Judges. Thus it fares with the greatest Villains; and thus it has appeared in the Case of the Rebels: Were they not the very Derision and Scorn of the People, when led into this famous City? Did not all the Faces in general that beheld them, speak their Resentment to their Crimes? And yet, when brought to the Place of Execution, none were more pitied by a great many of the unthinking Populace; nay, those that least deserved it, that had formerly professed the establish'd Religion, and now at their Exit professed themselves of another Faith, excluding by their Principles all others from the Hopes of Salvation, that would not follow their Example: But as the former Part of their Lives had been a Contradiction to all Morality, so the latter Part was a direct Opposition to all Honesty. The Roman-Catholicks died like Men, never varying from their Principles; but our Tories or High-Churchmen went into other Extremes. A true Badge of the Men and their Manners, not one of them being touched in the least with Remorse, though they had pleaded guilty. However, that may be lessened, because of the Frailty of the Flesh; yet giving themselves the Lie at their very Departure, and Brink of Eternity, is enough to satisfy any rational Being. I must own, Mr. Man-
caster,

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safter, that was executed in Lancashire, in his dying Speech, declared the greatest Detestation to his Guilt, and earnestly begged the Almighty's Pardon for rebelling against his lawful Sovereign. This Man could not be imposed upon to speak contrary to his Conscience, which the Party had persuaded others to do.

Having premised these Things, I shall detain my Reader no longer, but only to acquaint him, That the Reason why a Second Part or Edition of The History of the Rebellion came out so soon after the other, was, that when I writ the First, I did it in a very little Time; but finding they sold very well, I was willing to add a great many valuable Pieces, Accidents, and Characters; which I hope will please, seeing I write without Partiality.



T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION.

THE several secret Steps which of late have been taken to establish the pretended Son of King *James II.* upon the Imperial Throne of these Realms, and which for many Years have been carried on by Intrigues and Cabals of Parties and Persons against the Establishment of this Nation both in Church and State, have now at last discovered themselves in open Rebellion. Whatever Pretences they have made to cover their secret Practices, whatever different Measures they have taken to carry on their Designs, they have all appeared to center in this one Point, *viz.* to dethrone his Majesty King *GEORGE*, and to set aside the Protestant Succession in his illustrious Family. There is no question to be made but that they would gladly have brought this to pass by quiet and easy Methods, and that (if possible) they would have brought the Nation into it on the Pretences of *Hereditary Right*, *Legitimacy of Blood*, and the *divine Law of Primogeniture*, which
for

for many Years they had preach'd up as a Principle in the Church, raising innumerable Inventions of forged Stories and false Representations, to prepossess the Minds of the People in Favour of a *Popish* Pretender, and in Prejudice of the House of *Hanover*; but Heaven having disappointed all their clandestine Measures by the sudden and unexpected Death of the late Queen, and especially of the late King of *France*, on whose open and avowed Engagements of Support they entirely depended; and King *GEORGE*, in Right of the several parliamentary Settlements of the Entail, being peaceably possessed of and established in the Throne, they had then no way left but to fly to the last Resort of desperate Men, and taking Arms, to break out in open Rebellion.

Being to write of this remarkable Event, as one among the rest deluded to take an unhappy Share in its Progress and Consequences, I shall rather confine myself to the Matters of Fact historically to be related, than go back to the secret Consultations and Resolutions by which the Persons concern'd ripen'd one another up to a Spirit of Rebellion; only observing one thing previous to the Rebellion itself, and very aggravating upon those concerned in it, *viz.* that not only many of the Gentlemen concern'd, but even the Earl of *Mar* himself, who was the first Mover and Head of the Rebellion itself, had not only offered their Service to the King, but had taken Oaths to continue faithful to him, and had in particular abjur'd the Interest of the Pretender.

I say no more of it here, being to mention it again in its Course, but this, that it was a sad Token of what Principles either of Honour or Conscience these Men proceeded upon; which, had it been known sooner, would certainly have been an Antidote to have cured not me only, but many
more

more deluded Men, of the most favourable Thoughts we had entertain'd for their Persons and Designs.

To look then no farther back, we find the first beginning of this Rebellion discovered itself in the Eastern Parts of *Scotland*, in the Provinces of *Merns*, *Pertbshire*, *Angus*, &c. in the following manner.

Several Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others in *Scotland*, being prepared by the Management and Influence of the Earl of *Mar*, began to draw together their Servants and Dependants in all the Places where they had Interest, making divers Pretences for so doing, but not for some Time discovering the real Design; till at length Things ripening upon them, and Notice being taken of them, and especially the Earl of *Mar* being arrived among them, they boldly drew together, and openly declared themselves to have taken up Arms against King *GEORGE*, giving Defiance to his Forces, and suppressing all that were loyally affected to his Person. This daring Attempt began first about the latter End of *August*, 1715, in the Shire of *Pertb*, and in the Highlands of the Shire or County of *Mar*, where they continued some Days, gathering their People together till their Number increased; and then barefacedly they advanc'd to other Places, forming themselves into a Body, and particularly at a small Market-Town nam'd *Kirk-Michael*, where the *Pretender* was first proclaim'd, and his Standard set up, with a Summons for all People to attend it. This was on the 9th of *September*, where they continued four or five Days, and then made their way to *Moulin*, another small Market-Town in the same Shire. Here they likewise proclaim'd the *Pretender*, and rested fourteen Days, gathering Forces, where, by the coming in of others of their Party, they considerably increased their Number. From hence they marched to another Market-Town call'd *Logarett*, their Number now amounting to 1000 Men well arm'd;

arm'd; from *Logareit* they march'd to an ancient City which formerly gave Title to a Bishop, call'd *Dunkeld*. This Place they made their Head-Quarters, and here their Numbers increas'd again considerably, for here they were join'd by 2000 Men from the Highlands by the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, by the Earl of *Broadalbin*'s Men, and several others. Here finding themselves strengthen'd by the Addition of the Highland-Men, as above, they resolv'd to extend their Quarters; and the Earl of *Mar* having Intelligence that the Earl of *Rothies* and the Gentlemen of *Fife*, who were up in Arms for the King, were advancing to possess themselves of *Perth*, call'd also *St. John's-Town*, the principal City of these Parts, and which commands the Passage over the *Tay*, resolv'd to be beforehand with them; and having Intelligence in the Place, he detached Mr. *John Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinaul*, with a strong Party, giving him Orders to possess himself of that Place, which he performed effectually; which Action, as it was a great Disappointment to the King's Troops, so it was a very great Advantage to the Earl of *Mar* and his Party:

1. As it gave him the Command of the whole Province of *Fife*, the most fruitful, rich, and for the Convenience of the Sea-Coast, the most commodious to him of any of the Provinces in that Part of *Scotland*, as will soon appear.

2. As it gave a great Reputation as well to his Conduct as to his Party, who upon this Success made Preparations in all Parts to draw together and join him. And now indeed they began to have the Face of a strong Army, making this City their chief Garison and Head-Quarters. A great many Lords, Chiefs of Clans, and other Gentlemen from all Quarters flock'd to them, with their Followers, and some of them in very good Order, and well armed, particularly the Marquis of *Humiley*, the Earl

Earl of *Seaforth*, the *Macintosh*'s, the Earl *Mareschall*, and with them so many, that their Number were said to be about 12000 Men, very well appointed, as well Horse as Foot.

From thence extending their Quarters, they performed an Exploit at *Brunt-Island*, which still added to their Reputation; where they not only surpris'd the Town, being strong by Situation, and a Sea-Port on the *Firth of Forth*, in view of the very City of *Edinburgh*; but manning out some Boats in the Harbour, they went off, and seiz'd a Ship loaden with Arms, Ammunition, and other warlike Stores, which lay in the *Firth*, bound to the North, for the Use of the Earl of *Sutherland*.

Subsequent to this, they immediately made themselves Masters of all the Towns upon the Coast, even to the Mouth of the *Firth*, and, in a word, of the whole Province of *Fife*, the Earl of *Rothes* and the Gentlemen with him being obliged to separate, or retire to *Stirling*, to the King's Army.

The Rebellion being come to this length, the Earl of *Mar* resolv'd, in Concert with his Confederates, who by this time began to appear likewise in other Places, to make an Attempt upon the South Parts of *Scotland*; and this by a Method which at that Time was not expected, and indeed scarce practicable, viz. By sending a strong Detachment of Men to cross the *Firth of Forth*, to land on *Lothian* side, there to be joined by their Friends, who they expected to rise about *Haddingtoun*, and on the Borders of *England*. On their March to the Sea-Coast they were covered by some Horsemen under the Command of Sir *John Areskin* of *Alva*, the Master of *Sinclar*, and Sir *James Sharp*, Grandson to Archbishop *Sharp* of *St. Andrews*, who was murder'd in his Coach by the old *Cameronians*. This Body was commanded by the Laird of *Borlam*, better known by the Name of Brigadier *Macintosh*, and consisted of 2500 Men well arm'd,

arm'd. Orders had been given for all the Boats on that Side to be got ready to transport them over. His Majesty's Ships then in the *Firth* either espying them, or having Notice of the Design, prepar'd to prevent them, and weighing their Anchors upon the Top of the Flood, set sail to intercept them, if they should attempt the Passage; but the Rebels made several Counter-marches to amuse them till Night came on. They drew all down to the Shore on *Wednesday* Night, the 11th of *October*. Several embark'd that Night, and others the next Night, making directly over the South Shore, the Men of War not being able to come time enough; yet one Boat was taken with forty Men on Board; others were forced back to the *Fife* Side again; among whom my Lord *Strathmore* and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield*, and a great many Men were forced into the Isle of *May*. Of the 2500 designed for this Descent upon the *Lothians*, only 1500 of them landed; the Men of War being come down, made it impracticable for the other to pass; so they were oblig'd to stay till the next Night, and then to get back to *Criel* on the Shore of *Fife*: The other getting to the Shore, landed at *North Berwick*, *Aberlady*, and other Places on that Coast, and quarter'd at *Haddingtoun* and *Tranent* the first Night. This was a bold; and, to give them their due, a brave Attempt, for Men in open Boats to cross an Arm of the Sea sixteen or seventeen Miles broad, in sight, and indeed in Defiance of three Men of War, whom they fell in among, but received no Damage from them, but rather an Advantage; for the Lights of the Ships shewed them how to row to the Shore. On the other hand, the Government omitted nothing that could be done to prevent this bold Attempt; no Care was wanting to disappoint them of Vessels for the Undertaking; the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* and of the other Towns

Towns on the *Edith*, having had Notice from the Duke of *Argyle* of this Design, had ordered all the Boats that could be got to be brought to *Leith*; and besides the Three Ships of War that lay in the Road, ordered the Three Custom-house Smacks either to burn or bring over from *Fife* all the Boats and Vessels they could find, to prevent the Rebels coming over. But all these Precautions proved ineffectual: The Rebels being Masters of all the Sea-Shore, from *Cromarty* to the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*, they easily found Means to get Boats for their Purpose; nor did they fail of all necessary Policy in the Management of the Design; for whilst some of them amused the King's Ships about *Brunt-Island*, as if they would pass above *Leith-Road*, their main Body embarked on the other side, under the Conduct, as before, of Brigadier *Mackintosh* of *Borlam*, and quite out of sight of the Ships; and by this Means came safe ashore, as above.

Whilst this Design was putting in Execution, the Earl of *Mar* made a feigned March from *Perth* towards *Dumblain*, as if he designed to attempt to cross the *Forth* at *Stirling-Bridge*, or thereabouts, with an Intent to divert the Duke of *Argyle* from falling upon those that had crossed the *Firth*, as before: Nor was this part of their Design ineffectual; for it obliged the Duke of *Argyle* to return to *Stirling* in all haste; which you shall have related afterwards.

The *Highlanders* having thus crossed the *Firth*, and refresh'd themselves but one Night at *Hadding-toun*, march'd directly towards *Edinburgh*, where they caused greater Fear than there was real Danger; for unless their Number had been greater, it was as unlikely they should be able to force that City, as it was improbable that City should have resisted them, had their Number been greater. It was indeed supposed that they expected to be joined by the

Rabble, and to have rais'd some Tumult in the City in their Favour: But by the good Conduct of the Magistrates, and the Unanimity of the Citizens, who immediately took Arms, and formed themselves, they were disappointed; and especially by the speedy Approach of the Duke of *Argyle*, who, on Notice of their Approach, came with a swift March from *Stirling* with a Detachment of Dragoons to the Assistance of the Citizens.

The Rebels march'd up within Sight of the City; but finding no Numbers come out to them, and being inform'd as well of the Posture of the Citizens, as of the Approach of the Duke of *Argyle*, and, which was more than all, being sensible of the Weakness of their own Power, they halted, and calling a short Council, they resolv'd to attack *Leith*; so they turn'd to the Right, and marching to *Leith*, they enter'd the Town without Resistance.

Here they were entire Masters of the Place; and that they might not be fallen on to their Disadvantage, they march'd over the Bridge, and posted themselves in the old demolished Fort there built by *Oliver Cromwell*, and call'd the Citadel. Here they began to fortify; and first they went on board the Ships in the Harbour, and seiz'd several Pieces of Cannon, with Powder and Ball, and what else was proper for their Defence, together with a good Quantity of Brandy, Meal, Flesh, and other Provisions: And here they continued all *Friday* and *Saturday* the 13th and 14th of *October*. On *Saturday*, the Duke of *Argyle*, who, as above, had come from *Stirling*, upon Notice of their coming over the *Firth*, and had first given the Forces he had brought with him a little Time to refresh themselves after their long and hasty March, I say, on *Saturday* march'd down from *Edinburgh* with the 400 Horse and 200 Foot which he brought with him, and had mounted upon Country Horses for Expedition, to whom he join'd 400 Militia, and the Town-Guard of *Edinburgh*

burgh of 120 Men: With these his Grace set out of *Edinburgh* about Ten in the Morning; but finding the *Higblanders* so well intrenched, that it was impracticable to attack them without Cannon, by reason the Horse he had with him could do him little or no Service, he returned to *Edinburgh* about two in the Afternoon, and gave Orders that necessary Preparations should be made for attacking the Rebels with Artillery the next Day.

The Forces which his Grace commanded were part of Lord *Portmore's*, commonly called the *Scotts* Gray, part of Lieutenant-General *Carpenter's*, and the Earl of *Stair's* Dragoons, part of *Shannon's*, part of the Lord *Forfar's*, and part of the *Scots* Fuziliers Foot, besides the Militia above, and several Noble-men and Gentlemen Volunteers.

The Rebels still expected that great Numbers from *Edinburgh* would have come out and joined them, being encouraged by the good Posture they were in; which, had it happened, they had yet a strong Inclination to attempt to enter the City; but seeing there was no longer Expectation of Encouragement, (for there only came six or seven Gentlemen to them, and gave them an Account that no Body stirr'd, and that the Town was in a Posture to oppose any Attempt they should make,) and being likewise informed of the Preparations that the Duke of *Argyle* was making to fall upon them the next Day, that same *Saturday* Night, about seven o'Clock, they prepared to be gone, resolving to make a Retreat under the Favour of the Darkeness of the Night. Before they did this, they sent off a Boat with an Express to the Earl of *Mar*, to acquaint him with their Proceedings. As soon as the Boat went off, they discharged one of their Cannon after her, to make the Men of War imagine her an Enemy to the Rebels. Nor did that Stratagem fail, but fully answered the Design; the Boat escap'd unpursu'd,

and returned to them again with Letters from the Earl of *Mar*, and new Orders, about three Hours before they left *Seaton-House*. Night being come, all things were made ready with the greatest Caution and Secrecy imaginable for their Retreat, which they performed in the deepest Silence; taking the Advantage of the Low Ebb of the Tide, they marched off by the Head of the *Peer* on the Sands, crossing the Mouth of the River no deeper than to the Knees in Water, making Eastward; so covered their Retreat, and came safe to *Seaton-House*, leaving about Forty behind them that had made too free with the Brandy which they found in the Custom-House, besides some Stragglers, who lagged behind in their March. Several little odd Accidents happened to them in that March, occasioned by the Darkness of the Night, and the Mistakes natural to Attempts of this kind: First of all, when they came near *Musleburgh*, some People from the End of that Town fired upon their Front, but did no Harm, yet occasioned a great Disorder among them. At first this made the Highlanders suspect all Horsemen for Enemies; the Consequence of which was very unhappy to one of their own Number, a Gentleman of no mean Quality, Character, and Fortune, and who had just joined them, whose Name was Mr. *Alexander Maloch*, of *Mutree-Shields*: This Gentleman being on Horseback, was challenged by a Highlander in his Language; to which the Gentleman being a Stranger, and not able to answer in that Dialect, the Highlander shot him dead on the Spot. The Brigadier took what Money and Gold he had about him, which was about sixty Guineas, and left him; for they could not stay to bury him. Soon after this, viz. about a Mile farther from *Musleburgh*, on the other Side of the Town, they were again alarm'd with the Noise of Guns firing upon the Front: And here the like Mistake occasioned

froned the like Mischief ; for taking a Party of their own Men for Enemies, the foremost of the Body fired upon them, and killed a Serjeant belonging to the Earl of *Mar's* Regiment, and a private Soldier. The Night proved so very dark, that they could not distinguish Friends from Enemies ; which was their Happiness one way, as it prevented their being discovered and pursued ; but their great Mischief another way, as it made them liable to such false Alarms, and made them kill their own Friends instead of Enemies : At last they arrived at *Seaton-House* about two in the Morning, which is an ancient Castle, very large, encompass'd with a strong, high Stone-Wall, but no Ditch. Here some of their Men join'd them, who crossing the *Firth* farther Eastward, had not landed so soon, and had not been able to come up to them on their March to *Leith* ; these Men brought them an Account of *Strathmore*, and other Gentlemen being forc'd ashore on the Isle of *May*, that were obliged to return to the Earl of *Mar*. On *Sunday* the 16th of *October*, whilst they were in *Seaton-House*, several of His Majesty's Forces, join'd with the well-affected Gentlemen of the Country, came from *Edinburgh*, and appeared near *Preston-Pans*, which gave an Alarm to the Highlanders ; upon which, a Party marched out of the Castle, and formed themselves in order to receive those that appeared against them : But those from *Edinburgh* having made a Halt, retir'd ; which the Rebels likewise did into their Garrison at *Seaton-House*. Upon *Monday* the 17th, the Earl of *Rothes*, with 300 Gentlemen Volunteers, and the Lord *Torbichen* with 200 Dragoons which the Duke of *Argyle* had left, marched to *Seaton-House*, but found the Rebels so strongly posted, that it was impossible to dislodge or reduce them without Artillery. This still animated the Rebels, and a good Body advanc'd, as if they would charge

the Gentlemen, and some Shot were exchanged, but at too great Distance to do any Harm on either Side; and the King's Troops seeing no Good to be done, retir'd

On Sunday the Duke of *Argyle* having Intelligence from *Stirling* that the Earl of *Mar*, and the Rebels under his Command, were marching from *Perth*, he returned to *Stirling* to observe the Motion of the Rebels, leaving a Party to protect the People of *Edinburgh* from the Insults of the Rabble. This was the Earl of *Mar*'s feigned March, to withdraw the Duke of *Argyle* from attempting any thing upon the Highlanders that had crossed the *Firth*: He gave out, he would pass the *Forth* with all his Army, either at *Stirling* or at the Bridge of *Down*. They began their March in the Night, *October 17*, and advanced in three Bodies; but upon the Notice that the Duke of *Argyle* was returned from pursuing the Enemy, he marched back to *Perth*: All this was a Stratagem and an Amusement, which indeed succeeded; for he got his Design answer'd, and broke the Measures of the Duke of *Argyle*, who resolv'd to attack *Seaton-House*. As to the Earl of *Mar*, he was resolv'd not to cross the *Forth* till he had got all the Clans together, and had reduced the Earl of *Sutherland*, whom if he should leave unvanquished upon his Rear, might prove fatal to his Designs, and expose all he had gained without Opposition, to be regained by that Lord.

The Highlanders continued all this while at *Seaton-House*, and sent out Parties to bring in Provisions, of which they brought in great Plenty, as Cows, Sheep, Meal, &c. and gave out that they resolv'd to fortify there, and make *Seaton-House* a Magazine, while they raised an Army, as they pretended also, as well from the Country round about, and from *Edinburgh*, and from other Friends to their Design in the West part of *Scotland*, who were pre-

preparing to join them, as from the Borders of *England*, where by this time Numbers were risen in *Northumberland* by the Lords and others in *England*; of whom I shall say farther hereafter.

While they continued here they discovered a Boat at Sea, making towards the Shore from the *Fife*-side of the *Firth*: The Men of War fired very hotly at her; but the Boat keeping to the Windward at a Distance, she got safe to Shore. This was the same Boat that went off from *Leith*, and brought News concerning their Friends Proceeding at *Perth*, and Orders to march toward *England*, to join the New-risen Rebels in *Northumberland*. The Boat landed them at a small Harbour called *Port-Seaton*, a small Town where Ships used to take in Coal and Salt. Presently after these Orders, (*viz.*) on *Tuesday* the 18th, two Gentlemen brought them an Account of the Insurrection in *Northumberland* for the *Pretender*, under the Command of Mr. *Forster*; and of the South-Country *Scots* Gentlemen, under the Command of the Lord Viscount *Kennmare*. Upon those several Pieces of Intelligence, they altered their Resolution of continuing at *Seaton-House*; and at the same time receiving also an Express from Mr. *Forster*, inviting them to meet him at *Kelso* on the Border, they resolved to march next Day to meet him. This was *Wednesday* the 19th, which they did accordingly, setting out in the Morning for a small Country Town called *Lonformachus*, which is seventeen long *Scots* Miles from *Seaton-House*. During this Day's March, several of the Highlanders lagg'd behind and deserted. As soon as Major-General *Wightman* received Intelligence of their Motion, he marched from *Edinburgh* with 80 Dragoons, 50 Militia, and some Volunteers, to attack their Rear; but returned in the Evening, *re infecta*, having only taken up some of the Rebel Deserters, whom he made Prisoners, and left the 50

Foot in *Seaton-House*, recovering a great deal of their Spoil which was left there behind. *Mackintosh* and his Men set out again from their Night's Quarters at *Lonformachus*, towards another small Town in the *Mers* called *Dunfe*, the Place of Nativity of the learned and famous *Johannes Dunfe Scotus*: Here they drew up in Order of Battle whilst the *Pretender* was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to their Quarters in that Town. The next Morning, being *Saturday* the 22d of *October*, they marched towards *Kelso*, which Town the *English* and *Scots* Horse, that is to say, the *Northumberland* and *Nithsdale* Rebels, entered the same Evening. The Highlanders, in Compliment to their Bravery and Conduct shewn in passing the *Firth*, and so often facing their Enemies, were met by the *Scots* Horse at *Ednembridge*: It seems the Cavalry were so earnest to pay this Respect to the Foot, that they made no Stop at *Kelso*, but went forward to conduct the Foot into the Town; which they did accordingly about three a Clock in the Afternoon; so that at that time all their Forces were got together. Brigadier *Mackintosh*, upon all the Marches he had made, and in all the several Towns he came at, had been very careful to collect all the Money he could get of the Publick Revenue. His Avarice and Covetousness very much discover'd the Man: For it is well known that he made false Musters of his Men, and gave them in far more numerous than they were, and so put the Old Soldier upon the Young General; which was discovered at last. Besides several little small-spirited Actions of taking Bribes: For at *Preston* he took a Silver Watch from one Mr. *Wyburgh*, whom he had made Prisoner, as one of the Officers of the Militia, with a Promise to get him his Liberty, which he could not obtain for that Gentleman, but kept his Watch; though upon Complaint made by that Prisoner, then at Liberty, to General *Wills*,
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the Brigadier was, to his Shame, obliged to return it. An Action very much becoming a Tory Captain. In one of his Marches, passing by the House of one Dr. *Sinclair*, he gave Orders to set fire to it; but one Mr. *William Miller*, who had the Title of Major in his Regiment, by his Persuasion prevailed with him to forbear those Reprisals for the present. The Reason why the Brigadier would have done this, is as follows: This Dr. *Sinclair* and the Laird of *Humby* had Intelligence that there were some People got together in the House of Mr. *Hepburne* of *Keith*, near *Haddingtoun*: This *Hepburne* was a Gentleman known to be a Friend of the *Pretender's*, and no Question had a Design to join the Rebels. Upon this Intelligence, Dr. *Sinclair* got some of the Militia and Neighbours together to attack them, and, if possible, prevent their Design. Mr. *Hepburne* and his Sons, with a Relation and some Servants, who were all that were in the House, took the Alarm, and finding they were beset, mounted their Horses, resolving to break through, and make their Escapes: Dr. *Sinclair* and his Troop finding they were better mounted than his Men, and resolute also not to surrender, fired upon them, and killed Mr. *Hepburne's* younger Son, a Youth wonderfully lamented, being singularly beloved by all that knew him. Dr. *Sinclair* was blamed for this, and his too particular Behaviour against Mr. *Hepburne*, who was his next Door Neighbour: And this caused many to press the Brigadier to fire his House; which however, as above, was not done. This was the first Blood spilt in the Rebellion.

Having thus brought all the Rebels into *Kelso* to their Rendezvous, as well from the North and West Parts of *Scotland* as from *England*, I must leave them there a little, while I go back into *Northumberland*, and give some Account of the Rising and Motion of the Rebels on that Side; as also of
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some of their Measures and Marches, till they came and joined the Highland Foot at *Kelso*, as above.

There had been Measures concerted at *London*, by the *Pretender's* Friends, some time before the Insurrection in *Northumberland* broke out; to which Capt. *John Shaftoe*, a Half-pay Officer, since executed at *Preston*, and Capt. *John Hunter* of *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*, who had a Commission from Queen *Anne* to raise an independent Company, but did not, assisted: Besides these two, there was one Capt. *Robert Talbot*, an *Irishman* and *Papist*, formerly in the *French* Service, who likewise being acquainted with the Design in *August*, 1715. took Shipping at *London*, and went to *Newcastle*. By this Gentleman, the Resolutions taken at *London* were first communicated to their Friends in the North of *England*, and Means us'd to persuade and prepare the Gentlemen they had embark'd with them, to be ready to rise upon Warning given. And here, that I may enter into that Part of the History of the Rebellion, which though most useful to be known, yet none of those who have pretended to write of these Things, have yet been able to give a particular Account of, or indeed so much as to entertain any Notion of; I say, that this needful Part may be laid open, I must observe, That as it is very reasonable to suppose a Design of this Consequence could not be carried on by the Measures concerted, the Parties furnished, prepared, and brought together in a Posture fit to appear in Arms against the Government, without long Debates, frequent Correspondences, carrying and recarrying of Letters, Orders, &c. and abundance of People employed to concert Measures, and ripen up Things to the height they afterwards were brought to; so it is worth observing, how that Intelligence was managed, and in what manner they went on for some time before they broke out into open

open Rebellion, And first we are to observe, that the grand Design was laid at *London*, and that there the Measures were principally concerted; from whence, as from the Center conveying Life and Vigour to the Parts, a Correspondence and Intelligence was settled with all the Conspirators in the several Parts of *Britain*. But as this was a Correspondence of too much Weight to be carried on by the ordinary Conveyance of Letters, there were several Gentlemen, from sundry Parts in the Kingdom, riding from Place to Place as Travellers, pretending a Curiosity to view the Country, and thereby carrying Intelligence, discoursing with Persons, and settling and appointing their Business. The principal Men entrusted with these Negotiations, were Colonel *Oxburgh*, Mr. *Nicholas Wogan*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*, and Mr. *James Talbot*, all *Irish* and *Papists*: A second Class of Agents consisted of Mr. *Clifton* Brother to Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and Mr. *Beaumont*, both Gentlemen of *Nottinghamshire*, and Mr. *Buxton* a Clergyman of *Derbyshire*. All these rid like Gentlemen, with Servants and Attendants, and were armed with Swords and Pistols. They kept always moving, and travelled from Place to Place, till things ripen'd for Action. The first Step towards their appearing in Arms was, when, about the latter end of *September*, the Lord *Derwentwater* had Notice that there was a Warrant out from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that the Messengers were come to *Durham* that were to take him. This Lord went to the House of one Mr. *B---n*, in his Neighbourhood, a Justice of the Peace, who, if zealously affected to His Majesty's Government, or that Lord's Interest, might have honourably enough taken him, or at least persuaded him to surrender; which, it is presumed, would not have been Matter of great Difficulty to have been done. Here it is supposed he went from thence to the House

House of one *Richard Lambert*, thought more private, and least suspected. Mr. *Forster* likewise having Notice of the like Warrant against him, went from Place to Place, 'till at last he came to the House of one Mr. *Fenwick* of *Bywell*. The Messenger in pursuit of him was got within half a Mile of that Place; but staying or calling for a Constable to his Aid, whether the other had notice thereof, or not, yet he found time to out-distance the Messenger, so that he never overtook him, 'till they met at *Barnet*, when the Messenger brought Ropes to pinion him that had led him such a Dance. It has been reported (not without good Reason) that Mr. *Fenwick* had given shrewd Demonstrations, if not plain Evidence, of his good Inclinations to join the Rebels. Upon this News they had a full Meeting of the Parties concern'd, in *Northumberland*; where consulting all the Circumstances of their Friends, and of the Interest they were embark'd in, they boldly resolv'd, since there was no Safety any longer in shifting from Place to Place; that in a few Days they should be all secur'd, and clapp'd up in several Prisons, or hurried away to *London*; that as they should be severally confin'd, so they would be severally examined, and none could say what the other should answer: So that for fear of betraying one another, they should be really brought to do it; That now was the time to shew their Loyalty to their King (*Pretender*), and that if this Opportunity was lost, they had no room to hope for another; and that therefore they would immediately appear in Arms. At this time the Lord *Derwentwater's* Horses had been in Custody of one Mr. *Coatforth*, in that Lord's Neighbourhood, a Justice of the Peace for the County, for several Weeks, according to an Order from Council: But when that Lord had need of them, he had them returned. I afterwards asked that Lord, how he came so quietly by
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his Horses from the Justice's Possession, whom the believing Neighbourhood esteem'd a most rigid Whig? I was answered thus, by that Lord's repeating a Saying of *Oliver Cromwell's*, *That he could gain his Ends in any Place with an Ass-load of Gold*; and left me to make Application. Pursuant to this Resolution, an Appointment was made, and Notice of it sent to all their Friends, to meet the next Morning, which was the 6th of *October*, at a Place called *Green-rig*, which was done accordingly; for *Mr. Forster*, with several Gentlemen, in Number at first about twenty, met at the Rendezvous; but made no stay here, thinking the Place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*; from whence they might discover any that came either to join them, or to oppose them. They had not been long here, before they discovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that Morning from his own Seat at *Dilston*, with some Friends, and all his Servants, mounted some upon his Coach-Horses, and all very well arm'd. In coming from *Dilston-Hall*, they all drew their Swords as they marched along *Corbridge*, and thro' that Town. They halted at the Seat of *Mr. Errington*, where there were several other Gentlemen appointed to meet, who join'd the Lord *Derwentwater*, and then they came on all together to the Places appointed, and where the forenamed Company attended. They were now near 60 Horse, most Gentlemen and their Attendants; when calling a short Council, it was concluded to march towards the River *Coquett*, to a Place called *Plainfield*: Here they were join'd by others, who came straggling in, and having made some Stay here, they resolved to go that Night to *Rothbury*, a small Market-Town: Here they stay'd all Night; and next Morning, being the 7th of *October*, their Number still increasing, they march'd to *Warkworth*, another Market-Town upon the Sea-Coast,

Coast, and strong by its Situation, famous formerly for a Castle, the Body of which still remains, and an ancient Cell cut out of a solid Rock. Here they continued till *Monday*, during which time nothing material happened, except that on *Sunday Morning* Mr. *Forster*, who now stiled himself General, sent Mr. *Buxton* their Chaplain to Mr. *Ion* the Parson of the Parish, with Orders for him to pray for the Pretender as King; and in the *Litany*, for Mary *Queen-Mother*, and all the dutiful Branches of the Royal Family; and to omit the usual Names of King George, the Prince and Princess; which Mr. *Ion* wisely declining, the other, viz. Mr. *Buxton*, took Possession of the Church, read Prayers, and preach'd. Mean while the Parson went to *Newcastle* to consult his own Safety, and acquaint the Government with what happened. The next thing they did, was openly to proclaim the Pretender as King of Great Britain, &c. It was done by Mr. *Forster* in Disguise, and by the Sound of Trumpet, and all the Formality that the Circumstances and Place would admit. It may be observ'd, that this was the first Place where the Pretender was so avowedly pray'd for and proclaim'd as King of these Realms. *Buxton's* Sermon gave mighty Encouragement to his Hearers, being full of Exhortations, flourishing Arguments, and cunning Insinuations to be hearty and zealous in the Cause; for he was a Man of a comely Personage, and could humour his Discourse to induce his Hearers to believe what he preach'd; having very good natural Parts, and being pretty well read.

On *Monday* the 10th of *October* they march'd to *Morpeth*, a very considerable Market-Town belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and gives Title to his eldest Son. Upon their March to this Town their Number got a considerable Addition, at *Felton-Bridge* they were join'd by 70 Scots Horse, or rather Gentlemen

Gentlemen from the Borders ; and they had been considerably increased before, in their March from *Warkworth*, at *Alnwick*, and other Places ; so that at their entering this Town they were 300 strong, all Horse, for they would entertain no Foot, else their Number would have been very large ; but as they neither had nor could provide Arms for those they had mounted, they gave the common People good Words, and told them that they would soon be furnish'd with Arms and Ammunition, and that then they would lift Regiments to form an Army. This was upon the Expectation they had of surprising *Newcastle*, in which Case they did not question to have had as many Foot as they pleas'd. Here Mr. *Forster* receiv'd an Account that Mr. *Lancelot Errington* and some others had surprized the Castle in the *Holy Island*, which is a small Fort guarded by a few Soldiers sent weekly from the Garrison at *Berwick*. *Errington* undiscover'd took Boat and went to Sea, and with his Companions landed under the Cover of the Wall, and got into the Fort by Surprize ; tho' he kept the Possession but a very little while, for the Governor of *Berwick* having an immediate Account of the Action, and resolving if possible to recover the Place before *Errington* could be supply'd with Men and Provisions, detach'd a Party of 30 Men of his Garrison, with about 50 Volunteers of the Inhabitants, and marching over the Sands at Low-water-mark attack'd the Fort, and took it Sword in Hand ; *Errington* himself attempting to make his Escape, was wounded and taken Prisoner, with several others ; he with his Brother afterwards got out of *Berwick* in Disguise. The Design of taking this Fort was, to give Signals to any Ships that seem'd to make to the Coast to land Soldiers ; for by the Assurances they had from Friends beyond Sea, they expected them to land on that Coast with Supplies of Arms and Officers ;

cers ; but they never came till they were gone for *Scotland*, and then two Ships appear'd off at Sea, and made their Signal ; but having no Answer from the Shore, made sail Northward. The Rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a Body at *Morpeth*, promising themselves great Things at *Newcastle*, and several Gentlemen join'd them there, and several of the Country People came in and offer'd to lift, but they still declin'd them, and prepared to march to *Newcastle* ; but before they went, *Mr. Buxton* the Clergyman taking on himself the Office of a Herald as well as of a Churchman, proclaim'd the *Pretender*. They had a Party that went and seized the Post at *Felton-Bridge* ; and one *Thomas Gibson*, a Blacksmith of *Newcastle*, whom they apprehended and detained as a Spy, which it is thought he was from *Alderman White* of *Newcastle*, a zealous Gentleman for the Government, he afterwards became an Evidence against some of the Rebels at their Trials. Here it was that they receiv'd their first Disappointment, viz. in the Affair of *Newcastle*, which they expected should open its Gates to them ; but finding some Delay in it, they promised themselves to have it in a few Days ; and in the mean time they turned a little to the Westward, and marched to *Hexam*, an ancient Town famous for its Privileges and Immunities, and its once stately, but now ruinous Cathedral, formerly for many Years a Bishop's Seat, of which three were canoniz'd. This Town is distant from *Morpeth* 14 long Miles ; here they were join'd by some more *Scots* Horse. From this Town they all marched, few or none knowing whither, and went three Miles distant to a Heath or Moor adjoining to *Dilston*, the Seat of the Lord *Derwentwater*, and there they made a Halt ; this was with Design, as was thought, to go to *Newcastle* for the Surprize of that Town, which, as above, they hoped to have done sooner :

sooner : It is certain they had a great many Friends there ; and it was reported among them that Sir *William Blackett* would join them. If all that was said of this Gentleman's Conduct was true, they were not in the wrong to have some Dependence upon his Assistance ; but whether or not he was actually engag'd, remains a Secret ; for he manag'd so well as to keep out of the way. His Interest is indeed very considerable in the Town of *Newcastle*, being one of their Representatives in Parliament, and he has in his Service a great many Colliers and Keelmen, who in flat Boats call'd Keels convey the Coals from the Collieries to the Ships. He has likewise several Lead-Mines on that side the Country, which employ a great many Hands. Whether his Interest was so strong among these People, as to bring them to take Arms, by his Order, against their Sovereign, I will not say, or whether they received any Orders of that kind from him ; but this we had a certain Account of, viz. that these Men were order'd to provide themselves with Arms, and to be ready to go with one who is a kind of Steward or Governor over them, wherever he should direct ; but whether this was to be for the Service of the Government, or for the Service of the *Pre-tender*, is not certainly known ; Charity bids us hope they were engaged by this Steward for the King's Interest, especially because he has always pretended to be engaged in the Interest of his Majesty King *GEORGE*. The Rebels that had gone out of *Hexam* to the Moor, as above, returned again to their Quarters, having certain Intelligence from some of their Friends in *Newcastle*, that even before any regular Forces enter'd that Town, the Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants having first had some Suspicion, and soon after positive Intelligence of the Designs of the Rebels to surprize the Town, had effectually prevented it, and had taken all imagina-

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ble Precaution for their Security, raising immediately what Men they could, securing and imprisoning all Papists and suspected Persons, arming and encouraging the Inhabitants for their own Defence. Indeed the Magistrates shew'd a very commendable Zeal in the Interest of the King, and the Service of the Town, and no less Courage in their Application to the Defence of the Place. They got the Militia and Train-bands, who about that Time were order'd to muster at *Killingworth-Moor* near the Town, to be taken into it for its better Defence: At the same time the Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Northumberland*, repaired with his Friends to *Newcastle*: And the Gentry of those Parts, after his Lordship's Example, mounted their Neighbours and Tenants on Horseback, so that the Town was full of Horses and Men, both Townsmen and Countrymen unanimously declaring for King GEORGE. However, the Chiefs of the Rebels having great Interest in that Place, the Inhabitants were not altogether without Fear; nor were the High Party in the Town without the Folly of discovering their Well-wishes to the Rebels at *Hexam*, and even using some threatening Expressions, which the other ought to understand as so many Declarations of their Intentions, if the Power had been in their Hands to have acted according to their apparent Intentions. From this Town Lord *Derwentwater* had Intelligence, by an Upholsterer, of the Messengers coming there, in order to take him.

This perhaps, was partly the Occasion of laying aside the former Divisions and Prejudices between one another as Churchmen and Dissenters; the latter cheerfully offering, and the former freely accepting the Offer, an Association was entered into by both Sides, for the mutual Defence of their Lives and Estates; and a Body of 700 Volunteers were
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arm'd by the Town for their immediate Guard, without Distinction; and the Keel-men, being mostly Dissenters, offered a Body of 700 Men more, to be always ready at half an Hour's Warning; which was also accepted; at the same time the Association aforesaid was sign'd by the whole Body of Loyal Inhabitants. In the middle of this Hurry, also a Battalion of Foot, and part of a Regiment of Dragoons, being order'd out of *Yorkshire* for the Security of the Town, having made long Marches, they came to *Newcastle*, and then all their Fears vanish'd: But they were all farther eas'd of these Disorders a few Days after; for Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* having been ordered by the Government to go in Pursuit of the Rebels, with *Holbam's* Regiment of Foot, *Cobham's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Ciburbill's* Dragoons, for which Purpose he set out from *London* the 15th of *October*, and arrived at *Newcastle* the 18th, where he began to prepare for attacking the Gentlemen at *Hexam*, waiting a little for the coming up of the Troops. It is to be observed, that the Town of *Newcastle* is not a Place to be entered as an open Village, but has an old and very strong Stone-Wall about it, and very good Gates to defend it, tho' they had no Cannon planted: The Gates also were Walled up with Stone and Lime very strong, in case of any Attempt; so that without Cannon they could not have assaulted the Town. But the Rebels gave them no occasion to make use either of Walls or Gates, as we shall see presently. But first let us see how they spent their Time at *Hexam*. They staid there but three Days, tho' they were not idle during that Time; for first they seized all the Arms and Horses they could lay their Hands on, especially such as belong'd to those who were well-affected Subjects to the King. Next, here Mr. *Buxton* went to the Minister of the Town, and desired him or his Curate^d

to read Prayers, commanding that in them he should mention the *Pretender* by Name, as King *James III.* The Minister modestly declined it, (for there was no speaking boldly to them;) so Mr. *Buxton* officiated, and performed as usual. It was reported, that the Curate Mr. *Richardson* had promised to join the Rebels, and there are strong Presumptions to believe that as Matter of Fact. The Night before they left the Town, they were all drawn round the *Cross* in the Market-Place, where the *Pretender* was proclaimed, and the Proclamation fixed to the *Cross*; which remain'd there several Days after the Rebels were gone; which some say, is an Evidence of that Town's good Inclination to His Majesty King *GEORGE*; and others added, that the Bailiff and Clerk were too much of the Principles of the Lord of their Manor, Sir *W—— Bla——*, else they would have exerted their Authority, and shewed their Loyalty, in pulling down that Proclamation. Here the Rebels had notice of the Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Nithsdale*, *Carnwath*, and *Wintoun*, who had taken Arms in *Nithsdale*, *Dumfries-shire*, and other Places in the West of *Scotland*, having entred *England* to join them, and that they were come to *Roithbury*. The Viscount *Kenmure*, the only Nobleman in that part of *Scotland* capable of commanding Forces upon that Account, was solicited by the Earl of *Mar* to take up Arms for the *Pretender*, and to command such Forces as would join him on that side the *Forth*. At first, he refus'd this Offer, but being importun'd by the Jacobites in that Country, he, at last, was prevailed with to set up the *Pretender's* Standard at a small Town in *Annandale*, called *Mopbet*. This Standard, supposed to be made by his Lady, was very handsome, one side being Blue, with the *Scol's* Arms done in Gold; the other side a Thistle, with this under, *No Union*; above the Thistle, the usual Motto, *Nemo me im-*
pune

pune laceſſet. This Standard had Pendants of white Ribbon; upon one of theſe was written, *For our Wronged King, and Oppreſſed Country*; the other Ribbon had thereon, *For our Lives and Liberties.* This Standard was ſet up the firſt Night they made their Appearance. Being late, next Day being the 13th of *October*, they marched towards *Dumfries*, with Deſign to ſurprize that Town; but the Marquis of *Annandale*, whom they had followed the Day before, having none but his Servants along with him, entred the Town, and concerted ſuch Meaſures as made that Deſign abortive; which obliged them to alter their Rout, tho' many Diſputes happened hereupon, but at laſt agreed to march to *Loughmaben* that Night, where next Day they ſet up their Standard, and proclaimed the *Pretender*. This Town was the firſt Place, on this Side the *Forth* of *Scotland*, where the *Pretender* was proclaimed, and his Standard ſet up. This Day the Standard was carried by *John Dalziel* Eſq; Brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*. On the 14th of this Month they march'd to *Achelfeichen*. On their March thither, on a Common, being in all near 200 Horſe, they were formed into a Regiment. divided into two Squadrons. The chief Command to Viſcount *Kenmure*, that of each Squadron to the Earls of *Wintoun* and *Carnwarth*. Hence they marched regularly, and ſent their Quarter-Maſter-General Mr. *Calderwood*, to take up Quarters for them. Next Day they continued their March to *Langholm*, behaving themſelves all along civil in their Quarters. From thence they continued their Rout to *Hawick*. Upon theſe Marches their Number increaſed. At this Place they were alarm'd, which raiſed ſome Diſputes whether they ſhould proceed. They agreed to return, but had an Expreſs from Mr. *Forſter* about two Miles from *Hawick*, towards *Langholm*. This Meſſenger, Mr. *Douglafs*, had an Invitation from the *Northumberland*;

General to my Lord *Kenmure* and his Followers, to meet him at *Rotbury*: So they faced about, and marched that Night to *Jedburgh*. Here they received Intelligence of the *Mackintosh's* crossing the *Forth*, and the Duke of *Argyle's* Resolution to attack them, which put them into mighty Pain how the Consequence would prove. It is to be observed, that they were alarmed in marching to *Jedburgh*: Being late, their Advance Guard was surpriz'd by the Shouts of one who called out, That the Grey Horse were ready to fall upon them, and had cut the Quarter-Master and those with him into pieces. Those acquainted with the Quarter-Master assured Lord *Kenmure*, that he would by no means be so easily ensnar'd, being better us'd to Military Affairs; so they continued their March, and entred the Town without Opposition. Here, as in most other Towns, they proclaimed the *Pretender*; next Morning proceeded to *Rotbury*, perhaps such a March as few People are acquainted with, being very mountainous, long, tedious, and marshy. From *Rotbury* they dispatched Mr. *Burnett* of *Carlips* to *Hexam*, to Mr. *Forster*, to know his Mind, whether he would come towards them, or they should advance? He returned an Express, that he would join them. This Mr. *Burnett* afterwards carried the above-mentioned Standard; a Gentleman of comely Appearance; was afterwards Try'd, found Guilty, and Executed in *Lancashire*. Upon this News, but more especially on the aforesaid News of General *Carpenter* preparing to attack them, they march'd out of *Hexam*; *Wednesday* the 19th of *October*, and making a long March, they joined them and their Men that Night; and both of them next Day march'd to *Wooler* in the County of *Northumberland*. Here they rested all *Friday*, where I, with some Men which I had enlisted, being Keel-men, overtook them upon *Rotbury* Forest: I suspected them for
some

some of the Militia, and kept at a distance ; but discovering they had no Arms, made up to them, and asked them what News, and whither they designed? They answered, (but especially one, a brave stout young Fellow,) *We are Scotsmen, going to our Homes to join our Countrymen that are in Arms for King James.* I told him, *he was very bold. Sir,* (says he) *I'll drink his Health just now :* So with his Bonnet, which he dipt into a Runner, he said, *Here is King James's Health ;* which all his Partners did. After this, I told them, *If they were sincere, and would follow me, I would bring them to their Countrymen.* Which they promised to do. I gave each of them a Shilling. Drawing near the Town, I left them under a Hedge, 'till I could enquire what was become of the Rebels, and if we could by ourselves lodge safely there. I enquired for the best Inn, being directed there, where I found Mr. Charles Wogan's Man, who came with me from Hexam, but parted for fear of being taken. He gave me a Pair of Pistols ; so I returned to my Companions, and brought them quietly into Town, both wet and weary, and immediately went to the Head Constable, and told him, that if he would give us no Disturbance, we would stay all Night civilly, paying for what we had ; but if he intended to make a Prey of us, our Friends being gone, we would then follow them. He made fair Promises, but not daring to trust him too much, made him sure in his own House, so that we watched him by turns 'till early next Day ; we set out from this Town Rothbury for Wooler, and there joined the English and Scots Horse, and was kindly entertained by the Chiefs. Here Mr. Errington brought them an Account of the Highlanders being also coming to join them, and that they were advanced to Dunfermline, of which a full Account has been given already. On this News they march'd for Kelfo in Scotland.

On this Day's March they seized several Horſes, and made Mr. *Selbye* a Gentleman of that Country Priſoner. A little before they came to *Kelfo*, they made a Halt upon a Moor; and there the Gentlemen formed into Troops, were drawn out by themſelves, and called over, not only by their Names, but by their deſign'd Offices for the ſeveral Troops: And it is to be obſerv'd, that to each Troop they assigned Two Captains, being the only way they had to oblige ſo many Gentlemen. Whilſt they were thus employed, there came ſome Townſmen from *Kelfo*, and acquainted the Rebels that Sir *William Bennet* of *Grubbet*, who had been in *Kelfo*, and had barricado'd the Town, pretending to keep Poſt there, had gone off in the Night with his Men, who were only Militia and Servants, and that they might enter the Town without Oppoſition; ſo they continued their March, and croſſing the River *Twede*, tho' very deep at that Time, and rapid, they entred the Town. The Highlanders came into the Town preſently after from the *Scots* Side, with their Bag-pipes playing, led by old *Mackintoſh*; but they made a very indifferent Figure; for the Rain and their long Marches had extremely fatigued them, tho' their old Brigadier, who march'd at the Head of them appear'd very well. Next Day being *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, my Lord *Kenmure* having the chief Command in *Scotland*, ordered me to preach at the Great Kirk of *Kelfo*, and not at the Epiſcopal Meeting-Houſe, and gave further Orders that all the Men ſhould attend Divine Service. Mr. *Buxton* read Prayers, and I preached on theſe Words, *Deut. xxi. 17.* the latter part of the Verſe, *The Right of the Firſt-born is his.* All the Lords that were Proteſtants, with a vaſt Multitude of Papiſts attended, who have ſince told me, they were willing ſo to do, to grace the Cauſe; but withal ſaid, They did not ſee but they may be allowed ſo to do, for they

They approved very well of our Liturgy, which 'till then they never heard. It may be said, that the Service of the Church of *England* had never been read in any Church on this side of the *Forth* in *Scotland* before. This Church in its former Days, has been very large, lofty, and beautiful, whose Porch, and other Remains, speak its former Splendor. The Church-yard is very large and neat. It was very agreeable, to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behav'd, and answer'd the Responses according to the Rubrick, to the Shame of many that pretend to more polite Breeding. In the Afternoon Mr. *William Irwine* a *Scots* Clergyman and Nonjuror read Prayers, and preach'd a Sermon full of Exhortations to his Hearers, to be zealous and steady in the Cause: He told me afterwards that he had formerly preach'd the same Sermon in the Highlands of *Scotland*, to the Lord Viscount *Dundee* and his Men, when they were in Arms against King *William*, a little before the Battle of *Gillicranky*. The Sermon was very well digested, and suited fitly for the Men that heard it. I must take notice, that it has been reported that there were other Sermons preached on our Marches; and I have seen such Things written in the Publick Prints, with the Texts of Scripture alledged to have been the Subject of such Discourses; but nothing is more false, for other Sermons than these had we none. Next Morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the Church-yard, and so march'd in Order to the Market-place, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Bag-pipes playing, and there formed a Circle, the Lords and other Gentlemen standing in the Centre: There was an inner Circle formed also by the Gentlemen Volunteers: Then Silence being enjoined, the Trumpet sounded; after which the *Pretender* was proclaimed by one *Seaton Barnes*, who assum'd

affirm'd the Title of Earl of *Dumferling*. The Proclamation was to this Effect :

“ Whereas by the Decease of the late King
 “ *James* the VIIth, the Imperial Crowns of these
 “ Realms did lineally descend to his lawful Heir
 “ and Son our Sovereign *James* the VIIIth : We
 “ the Lords, &c. do declare him our lawful King
 “ over *Scotland, England, &c.*”

Then was read the following *Manifesto* of the
 Earl of *Mar*.

MANIFESTO by the Noblemen, Gentlemen,
 and others, who dutifully appear at this Time in
 asserting the undoubted Right of their lawful Save-
 reign *James VIII.* by the Grace of God, King of
 Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defen-
 der of the Faith, &c. and for relieving this his an-
 cient Kingdom from the Oppression and Grievances it
 lies under.

“ **H**IS Majesty's Right of Blood to the Crowns
 “ of these Realms is undoubted, and has
 “ never been disputed or arraigned by the least Cir-
 “ cumstance of lawful Authority.

“ By the Laws of God, by the ancient Consti-
 “ tutions, and by the positive unrepeal'd Laws of
 “ the Land, we are bound to pay his Majesty the
 “ Duty of Loyal Subjects. Nothing can absolve
 “ us from this our Duty of Subjection and Obe-
 “ dience ; the Laws of God require our Allegiance
 “ to our rightful King ; the Laws of the Land se-
 “ cure our Religion and other Interests ; and his
 “ Majesty giving up himself to the Support of his
 “ Protestant Subjects, puts the Means of securing
 “ to us our Concerns Religious and Civil in our
 “ own Hands.

“ Our

“ Our fundamental Constitution has been entirely
 “ altered and sunk amidst the various Shocks of
 “ unstable Faction ; while in the searching out new
 “ Expedients, pretended for our Security, it has
 “ produced nothing but daily Disappointments,
 “ and has brought us and our Posterity under a
 “ precarious Dependance upon foreign Councils and
 “ Interests, and the Power of foreign Troops.

“ The late unhappy Union, which was brought
 “ about by the mistaken Notions of some, and the
 “ ruinous and selfish Designs of others, has prov’d
 “ so far from lessening and healing the Differences
 “ betwixt his Majesty’s Subjects of *Scotland* and
 “ *England*, that it has widened and increased them,
 “ and it appears by Experience so inconsistent with
 “ the Rights, Privileges, and Interests of us and
 “ our good Neighbours and Fellow-Subjects of
 “ *England*, that the Continuance of it must inevita-
 “ bly ruin us, and hurt them. Nor can any Way
 “ be found out to relieve us, and restore our an-
 “ cient and independent Constitution, but by re-
 “ storing our rightful and natural King, who has
 “ the only undoubted Right to reign over us : Nei-
 “ ther can we hope that the Party who chiefly con-
 “ tribute to bring us into Bondage, will at any
 “ time endeavour to work our Relief ; since it is
 “ known how strenuously they opposed, in Two
 “ late Instances, the Efforts that were made by all
 “ *Scotsmen* by themselves, and supported by the
 “ best and wisest of the *English*, towards so desira-
 “ ble an End, as they will not adventure openly to
 “ disown the Dissolution of the Union to be.

“ Our Substance has been wasted in the late
 “ ruinous Wars ; and we see an unavoidable Pro-
 “ spect of having Wars continued on us and our
 “ Posterity, so long as the Possession of the Crown
 “ is not in the right Line.

“ The

“ The Hereditary Rights of the Subjects, tho’ confirm’d by Conventions and Parliaments, are now treated as of no Value or Force ; and past Service to the Crown and Royal Family, are now look’d upon as Grounds of Suspicion.

“ A pack’d-up Assembly, who call themselves a *British Parliament*, have, as far as in them lies, inhumanly murder’d their own and our Sovereign, by promising a great Sum of Money as the Reward of so execrable a Crime.

“ They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless Impeachments and Attainders, the worthy Patriots of *England*, for their honourable and successful Endeavours to restore Trade, Plenty, and Peace to these Nations.

“ They have broken in upon the Laws of both Countries, by which the Liberty of our Persons was secured ; they have empower’d a Foreign Prince (who notwithstanding his Expectation of the Crown for 15 Years, is still unacquainted with our Manners, Customs, and Language) to make an absolute Conquest (if not timely prevented) of the Three Kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited Power, not only of raising unnecessary Forces at Home, but also of calling in Foreign Troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable Designs : Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the Way it is in at present, for some Generations to come. And the sad Consequences of these unexampled Proceedings have really been so fatal to great Numbers of our Kinsmen, Friends, and Fellow-Subjects of both Kingdoms, that they have been constrain’d to abandon their Country, Houses, Wives, and Children, or give themselves up Prisoners, and perhaps Victims to be sacrificed at the Pleasure of Foreigners, and a few hot-headed

“ headed Men of a restless Faction whom they employ.

“ Our Troops Abroad, notwithstanding of their long and remarkable good Services, have been treated, since the Peace, with Neglect and Contempt, and particularly in *Holland*; and it is not now the Officers long Service, Merit, and Blood they have lost, but Money and Favour, by which they can obtain Justice in their Preferments; so that it is evident the Safety of his Majesty's Person and Independency of his Kingdoms, call loudly for immediate Relief and Defence.

“ The Consideration of these unhappy Circumstances, with the due Regard we have to common Justice, the Peace and Quiet to us and our Posterity, and our Duty to his Majesty and his Commands, are powerful Motives that have engaged us in our present Undertakings; which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last Extremity, as the only solid and effectual Means of putting an End to so dreadful a Prospect, as by our present Situation we have before our Eyes; and with faithful Hearts, true to our only rightful King, our Country, and our Neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect (as his Majesty's Commands) the Assistance of all our true Fellow-Subjects, to second this our first Attempt; declaring hereby our sincere Intentions, That we will promote and concur, in all lawful Means, for settling a lasting Peace to these Lands, under the auspicious Government of our native-born rightful Sovereign, the Direction of our Domestick Councils, and the Protection of our native Forces and Troops.

“ That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our Laws, Liberties, and Properties secured by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms:

doms: That by the Wisdom of such Parliaments,
 we will endeavour to have such Laws enacted,
 as shall give absolute Security to us, and future
 Ages, for the Protestant Religion, against all
 Efforts of Arbitrary Power, Popery, and all its
 other Enemies. Nor have we any Reason to be
 distrustful of the Goodness of God, the Truth
 and Purity of our Holy Religion, or the known
 Excellency of his Majesty's Judgment, as not
 to hope that in due Time, good Example, and
 Conversation with our learned Divines, will re-
 move these Prejudices, which we know his Edu-
 cation in a Popish Country has not riveted in
 his discerning Mind; and we are sure, as Justice
 is a Virtue in all Religions and Professions, so
 the doing of it to him, will not lessen his good
 Opinion of ours.

That as the King is willing to give his Royal
 Indemnity for all that is past, so he will chear-
 fully concur in passing general Acts of Oblivion,
 that our Fellow-Subjects who have been misled,
 may have a fair Opportunity of living with us
 in the same friendly Manner we design to live
 with them.

That we will use our utmost Endeavours for
 redressing the bad Usage of our Troops Abroad,
 and bringing the Troops at Home to be on the
 same Foot and Establishment of Pay as those of
England.

That we will sincerely and heartily go into
 such Measures as shall maintain effectually, and
 establish a right, firm, and lasting Union betwixt
 his Majesty's ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, and
 our good Neighbours and Fellow-Subjects of the
 Kingdom of *England.*

The Peace of these Nations being thus settled,
 and we thus freed from Foreign Dangers, we will
 use our Endeavours to have the Army reduced

“ to

“ to the usual Number of Guards and Garisons;
 “ and will concur in such Laws and Methods, as
 “ shall relieve us of the heavy Taxes and Debts
 “ now lying upon us, and at the same time will
 “ support the Publick Credit in all its Parts.

“ And we do hereby promise and engage, That
 “ every Officer who joins with us in our King and
 “ Country's Cause, shall not only enjoy the Post
 “ he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred
 “ according to his Rank and Station, and the Num-
 “ ber of Men he brings off with him to us; and
 “ each Foot-Soldier so joining with us, shall have
 “ Twenty Shillings Sterling; and each Trooper or
 “ Dragoon, who brings Horse and Accoutrements
 “ along with him, Twelve Pounds Sterling Gra-
 “ tuity, besides their Pay.

“ And in general, we shall concur with all our
 “ Fellow-Subjects in such Measures, as shall make
 “ us flourish at Home, and be formidable Abroad,
 “ under our rightful Sovereign, and the peaceful
 “ Harmony of our ancient fundamental Constitu-
 “ tion, undisturbed by a *Pretender's* Interests and
 “ Councils from Abroad, or a restless Faction at
 “ Home.

“ In so honourable, so good, and just a Cause,
 “ we do not doubt of the Assistance, Direction,
 “ and Blessing of Almighty God, who has so oft-
 “ en succour'd the Royal Family of *Stuarts*,
 “ and our Country, from sinking under Op-
 “ pression.”

This *Manifesto* being ended, the People with loud
 Acclamations shouted, *NO Union! NO Mail, NO*
Salt-TAX! Then the Highlanders returned to their
 Quarters, where they continued till *Thursday*; du-
 ring which time nothing material happened, but that
 they failed not here, as well as in all Places, to de-
 mand all the Publick Revenues, *viz.* of Excise,
 Customs,

Customs, or Taxes, and to search for Arms, of which they found very few, unless some small Pieces of Cannon of different Size and Shape, which formerly belonged to *Hume-Castle*, and had been employ'd in former Ages in that Strong-Hold against the *English*, but were at this time brought thence by Sir *William Bennet* aforesaid, to be placed at the Baricadoes which he had made in the Streets leading to the Market-Place : They likewise found some broad Swords hid in the Church, and a small Quantity of Gunpowder. There happened a very uncommon Accident while they remained here, which is worth recording for the singularity of it ; a Highlander having taken the Lock from his Musket, he laid down the Barrel, &c. cross the Arms of a Chair, whilst he at two Yards distance having cleaned, and trying the Lock, a spark of Fire flew from it directly, and most exactly to the Touch-hole of the Piece which was loaded, and went off and wounded three Children sitting round the Fire ; And it was the more strange, that at such a Distance, by meer Chance, a Spark should direct its way to the Touch-hole, and the Bullet should wound all the three Children, who did not sit in a Line.

There were no Hostilities used here, only the Horse going out a Foraging, went to a Seat of the Duke of *Roxburgh's* near the Town, and brought in some Hay. While they continued here, Dr. *Arthur*, a Gentleman concerned in that designed Attempt upon the Castle of *Edinburgh*, of very good Parts, and generous Education, and one Mr. *Cunningham* of *Barnes*, came from the Earl of *Mar* with Intelligence, and returned to him again ; after which, the same Gentlemen came again to the Rebels when at *Preston*. Before I leave this Town, I shall give some Account of what Force the Rebel-Troops now consisted, as well because they were more in Number at that time, and better armed
Men

Men than at any time after ; as also because so many different Accounts of their Numbers have been made publick, that it is not easy to know what may be depended upon. The Lord Viscount *Kenmure* had the chief Command whilst in *Scotland* : He was a grave, full-aged Gentleman, of a very ancient Family, and he himself of extraordinary Knowledge and Experience in Publick and Political Business, though utterly a Stranger to all Military Affairs ; of a singular good Temper, and too Calm and Mild to be qualified for such a Post, being both plain in his *Dress*, and in his *Address*. He made his first Rendezvous at *Lochmabben* : He had a Troop of Gentlemen with him, which, as he was General, was call'd the First Troop, the Command of which he gave to the Honourable *Bazil Hamilton* of *Beldoun*, Son to the Lord *Bazil Hamilton*, Brother to the late Duke *Hamilton*, a very promising Youth, and who behaved himself with a great deal of Courage in the Action at *Preston*, tho' but very young.

The Second Troop was called the *Merse* Troop, commanded by the Honourable *James Hume*, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Hume*, who at that time was Prisoner in *Edinburgh* Castle. This Youth is of a good Temper, but not very capable of having the Command of a Troop, as well on account of his Age, as other Incapacities. He was try'd at the *Marshalsea*, and found Guilty.

The Third Troop, called the Earl of *Wintoun's* Troop, and commanded by himself. This Earl is of a very ancient Family, wants no Courage, nor so much Capacity as his Friends find it for his Interest to suggest, especially if we may judge by the Counsel he gave: He was always forward for Action, but never for the March into *England*; and he ceased not to thwart the Scheme which the *Northumberland* Gentlemen laid down for marching into *England*, not so much from the Certainty, which,

as he said, there was of their being over-power'd, as from the greater Opportunity, which, as he insisted, there was of doing Service to their Cause in *Scotland*; in order to which, he argued with and pressed them back into *Scotland*, and leaving *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* to their Fate, to go and join the Western Clans, attacking in their Way the Town of *Dumfries*, and *Glasgow*, and other Places, and then open a Communication with the Earl of *Mar* and his Forces. Which Advice, if followed, in all probability would have tended to their great Advantage, the King's Forces being then so small. However therefore some People have represented that Lord, of which I shall say no more, all his Actions both before a Prisoner, and whilst such, till he made his Escape out of the *Tower*, speak him to be Master of more Penetration, than many of those whose Characters suffer no Blemish as to their Understandings. The Command of this Troop he assigned, under himself, to Captain *James Dalziel*, Brother to the Earl of *Carnwath*, who had been in King *GEORGE*'s Service formerly, and continued an Half-pay Officer for some time; but upon engaging in the Rebellion, he threw up his Commission; which piece of Policy was the saving of his Life, and prevented his being shot to death at *Preston* by Sentence of the Court-Marshal among the Half-pay Officers. He was a very bold and brave young Gentleman, and shew'd it upon all Occasions.

The Fourth Troop belonged to *Robert Dalziel*, Earl of *Carnwath*: This Nobleman was brought up under the Tuition of One who made it his study'd Care to instill the Principles of Hereditary Right, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance into his Mind. He study'd some time at *Cambridge*, and there suck'd in an entire Affection for the Liturgy and Worship in use in the Church of *England*, of which

which he was a sincere Devotee. He is singularly good in his Temper, and of an agreeable Affability, and delivers himself very handsomely in his Discourse. The Command of this Troop he gave over to his Uncle *James Dalziel*, Esq;. This Gentleman has a very good Character, and gave sufficient Demonstrations of his Affections to the *Pretender's* Interest, by his Courage and Conduct.

The Fifth Troop was under the Command of Captain *Lockart*, Brother to Mr. *Lockart* of *Carnwath*: He was a Half-pay Officer in the Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment, and as such try'd at *Preston* by a Court-Martial; by which being found Guilty of Desertion, he, with three more, were shot to death there. He was a young Gentleman of a comely Appearance, and very handsome: He gave several Instances of his Bravery. He died very penitent for all his Sins, but would not acknowledge that to be one for which he suffer'd. It is believed, and not without good Reason, that this Troop was rais'd by his Brother's Interest, who is a Gentleman of a good Estate, one of the best, perhaps, in *Scotland* possessed by a private Gentleman. This Troop was compos'd of several Servants belonging to the Laird of *Carnwath*, besides several of his own Horses: The Men were paid by Mr. *Auxton*, a Merchant of *Edinburgh*, who was entrusted in all Mr. *Lockart's* Concerns: And to confirm this, the Quarter-Master of this Troop was Mr. *Lamb*, a Servant of Mr. *Lockart's*, of good Esteem with his Master. He himself was taken into Custody upon shrewd Suspicions, and sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. If that Book was written by him, called, *The Memoirs of Scotland*, he may be called a Gentleman of deep Penetration, and singular Affection for his native Country, else he would not make so free with the Characters of a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen who

are very little suspected to be the Men he makes them.

These Troops were well mann'd, and indifferently arm'd; but many of the Horses small, and in mean Condition: Besides these Troops, there were a great many Gentlemen Volunteers, who were not formed into any regular Troop.

The Foot design'd to cross the *Forth*, were Regimented under these Colonels, being Six Regiments in all.

The First, the Earl of *Strathmore's*; but he and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield* were forced back in their Passage by the King's Men of War, with several others, and obliged to go on shore in the Isle of *May*. This Regiment was not in Highland-Dress, as the others were. This Lord was a hearty Friend of the *Pretender's*, and had some time before this Rebellion broke out, given it under his Hand that he would be ready the first Opportunity to rise and assist to establish him upon the Throne. This Paper, which was sign'd by several others, was lodg'd in the Hands of Colonel *Hookes*, to be by him transported into *France*.

The Second Regiment was the Earl of *Mar's*. I shall here add his Character, given him by his Countryman Mr. *Lockart*, in his *Memoirs of Scotland*.

“ *John* Earl of *Mar* was descended from, and
 “ the Representative of a Family noted for its Loy-
 “ alty, on many Occasions both ancient and mo-
 “ dern, and much beholden to the Bounty of the
 “ Crown. It is true, his Father embark'd with the
 “ *Revolution*: But if all be true that is reported,
 “ his Lordship gave a particular, tho' fatal Sign of
 “ his Remorse and Repentance, This present Gen-
 “ tleman's Fortune being in bad Circumstances,
 “ when he came of Age he devoted himself to the
 “ Duke of *Queensberry*, and the Court Measures,
 “ to

“ to which he always stuck close, till in the Year
 “ 1714, he headed such of the Duke of *Queensber-*
 “ *ry*’s Friends as oppos’d the Marquis of *Tweeddale*,
 “ and his Party’s Designs, and that with such Art
 “ and Diffimulation, that he gain’d the Favour of
 “ all the Tories, and was by many of them esteem’d
 “ an honest Man, and well inclin’d to the Royal
 “ Family. Certain it is he vowed and protested so
 “ many times ; but no sooner was the Marquis of
 “ *Tweeddale* and his Party dispossefs’d, than he *re-*
 “ *turn’d as a Dog to the Vomit*, and promoted all
 “ the Court Measures with the greatest Zeal ima-
 “ ginable. He was not a Man of a good *coram*
 “ *vobis*, and was a very bad, tho’ frequent Speaker
 “ in Parliament ; but his great Talent lay in the
 “ cunning Management of his Designs and Projects,
 “ in which it was hard to find him out when he
 “ aim’d to be *incognito* ; and thus he shew’d himself
 “ to be a Man of good Sense, but bad Morals.

His Regiment came not entire over the *Forth*,
 for at *Preston* there were only these Officers taken
 Prisoners, *viz.* *Nathanael Forbes* Major, a Man sin-
 gularly brave, of pleasant Discourse, mixing the
 Thread thereof with a great many *Scots* Proverbs,
 which were very well apply’d, and gave great En-
 tertainment to those that were acquainted with that
 Dialect. He was very strong, and by the Help
 thereof forced his way out of the *Marshallsea*. The
 other Officers were three Captains and three Lieu-
 tenants (whose Names are in the List of Officers
 hereafter mentioned ;) the rest were driven back by
 the King’s Men of War upon the Coast of *Fife*.

The Third, *Logie Drummond*’s. This Regiment
 came not entire over the *Forth*, being driven back
 on the *Fife*-side, with many more ; for of the 2500
 designed to cross the *Firth*, the better Half were
 prevented. He that had the Command of this
 Regiment was one of those that signed an Answer

to Monsieur *de Torci's* Questions, which gave a distinct Resolution to each Query, containing a full Account of the State of Affairs; particularly an Account of the Inclinations of the People, to venture All for the *Chevalier's* Service: This was when the People of *Scotland* were dissatisfy'd about the Union, in the Year 1707. This Paper was likewise lodg'd in the Hands of Colonel *Hookes*, to be by him transported into *France*.

The Fourth, the Lord *Nairn's*, Brother to the Duke of *Atbol*; but by marrying an Heiress, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, chang'd his own Name for hers: He came over the *First* with a good many of his Men. He is a Gentleman well belov'd in his Country, and by all that had the Advantage to be acquainted with him: He had formerly been at Sea, and gave signal Instances of his Bravery: He was a mighty Stickler against the Union. His Son, who was Lieutenant-Colonel to Lord *Charles*, took a great deal of Pains to encourage the Highlanders, by his own Experience, in their hard Marches, and always went with them on Foot through the worst and deepest Ways, and in Highland Dress.

The Fifth Regiment was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Atbol*: He had been a Cornet of Horse beyond Sea, and had gained a mighty good Character for his Bravery, even Temper, and graceful Deportment. Upon all the Marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the Head of his Regiment on foot, in his Highland Dress without Breeches: He would scarce accept of a Horse to cross the Rivers, which his Men in that Season of the Year forded above mid-thigh deep in Water. This powerfully gained him the Affection of his Men; besides, his Courage and Behaviour at a Barrier, where his Majesty's Forces made a bold Attack, was singularly

gularly brave. When the Rebels surrender'd at *Pres-
ton*, he was made a Prisoner, and try'd for a De-
serter, being a Half-pay Officer, found guilty, and
condemned to be shot ; but he pleaded that he had
given his Commission into the Hands of a Relation
before he enter'd the Rebellion: This, tho' he could not
bring any Proof of at that time, yet with his Friends
Interest and his Majesty's gracious Reprieve, makes
him yet enjoy his Life. When he was sensible that
he was to die, being removed to the House of
Mr. *Wingilby*, with the other Half-pay Officers, he
kept a true Decorum suitable to the Nobleness of
his Mind and the Bravery of his Soul, and not un-
suitable to the Circumstance he was in.

The Sixth Regiment was called *Mackintosh's* Bat-
talion, a Relation of the Brigadier's, who is Chief
of that Clan. He is of an ancient Family, descend-
ed from the old *Thanes* of *Fife*. His Name, in the
Irish or *Highland* Language, discovers his Descent ;
for *Tosh* signifies *Thane*, and *Mac* Son. His *Motto*
to his Coat of Arms is comical as well as remark-
able, *Touch not the Cat without your Glove* ; which
Coat of Arms is supported by two wild Cats, and
has a Cat for the Crest. The Earl of *Weems* is de-
scended from the same *Thane* of *Fife* ; and it is dis-
puted whether he or *Mackintosh* are elder, tho' cer-
tain it is that the Earl of *Weems* retains a considera-
ble Part of *Thane's* Estate. Whether *Mackintosh* be
elder or younger, he left *Fife*, and made a Purchase
in the North, where his Successors have lived for
several Hundreds of Years in handsome and splen-
did manner, and married the Heiress of *Clancattan*,
whereof *Mackintosh* became the Head and Chief ;
which has a great many Tribes, or Followers,
viz. the *M'pherson's*, the *Farquarson's* of *Bræ Mar*,
the *M'gilbray's*, the *Shaw's*, *M'beans*, *M'queens*,
Smith's, and *Clark's*, &c. which joined together,
make a numerous Clan. *Mackintosh*, in all old

Grants, Charters, Patents, and Bonds, and several Letters from Kings, yet extant, is call'd Captain of *Clancattan* : And *Buchanan* in his Annals mentions him often, *Cateneorum Dux Tribus*, in other Places stiles them *Gens Ferox*. They had four hundred Years constant Wars and Broils with the *Camerons* and *Cummings*, of old very considerable in *Scotland*, whom he overcame. This Tribe, for their Loyalty and good Service at the Battel of *Wardlaw*, famous in *Scots* History, got an Estate call'd *Brae Lochaber*, of which he is still possessed. His Family is mentioned often by *Buchanan*, *Boëtius*, *Lesley*, &c. It is to be observed that the *M^rpersons*, Part of this Tribe, out of some distant View, would not on this Occasion follow their Chieftain, but formed themselves into a separate Regiment for their Master the *Pretender* : Tho' they promised great Things, yet it is well known how they behav'd at *Sheriff-Moor* ; for they stood within View of the Battel, but never drew a Sword or fired a Gun ; like the *M^rgregors* under *Rob. Roy*, the *Stuarts*, and *Camerons*. *Seafort's* Men, except those of *Kintail*, misbehav'd. *Stuart* of *Appin's* Men, and most Part of the *Frazers*, were at *Pertb* with *Frazerdale* ; but upon Notice of *Loval's* Arrival in the North they deserted the *Pretender*, and returned to the Service of King *GEORGE*. This Regiment came entire over the *Forb*, He is a Gentleman that few People expected in the Rebellion, having always appeared on the other Side ; but the Persuasions of the Brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handsome brave young Gentleman, of a very considerable Interest in his own Country ; for he can bring into the Field upon any Occasion 1000 stout, hardy, and well-armed Men.

Besides these Six Regiments (a List of whose Officers are hereafter inserted) there were a considerable Number call'd The Gentlemen Volunteers, commanded by Captain *Skeen* and Captain *Mac-Lean*,
Lieutenant

Lieutenant *David Stewart*, and Ensign *John Dunbar*, formerly an Excise-man.

The *English* were not altogether so well regulated, nor so well armed as the *Scots*. The Troops were these :

First, the Earl of *Derwentwater's*, commanded by his Brother *Charles Radcliffe* Esq; and Captain *John Shafte*. That Earl being a Papist, and a Relation of the *Pretender's*, having it seems had the Opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, all these Circumstances unhappily concurr'd to draw him into this Snare, to his Destruction, and the utter Ruin of the most flourishing Family in that Part of *Britain*.

It was thought, however, that this Lord did not join either so heartily or so premeditatedly in this Affair as was expected ; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater Numbers of Men into the Field than he did ; the great Estate he possessed, the Money he could command, his Interest among the Gentlemen ; and, which is above all, his being so well beloved as he was, could not have fail'd to have procur'd him many hundreds of Followers more than he had, if he had thought fit ; for his Concerns in the Lead-Mines in *Alstone-Moor* are very considerable, where several hundreds of Men are employ'd under him, and get their Bread from him, whom, there is no doubt, he might easily have engaged : Besides this, the Sweetness of his Temper and Disposition, in which he had few Equals, had so secur'd him the Affection of all his Tenants, Neighbours, and Dependants, that Multitudes would have liv'd and dy'd with him : The Truth is, he was a Man form'd by Nature to be generally belov'd ; for he was of so universal a Beneficence, that he seem'd to live for others. As he liv'd among his own People, there he spent his Estate, and continually did Offices of Kindness and Good-

Good-neighbourhood to every body, as Opportunity offer'd. He kept a House of generous Hospitality and noble Entertainment, which few in that Country do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and distressed Families on all Occasions, whether known to him or not, and whether Papist or Protestant. His Fate will be sensibly felt by a great many, who had no Kindness for the Cause he died in, and who heartily wish he had not forwarded his Ruin, and their Loss, by his Indiscretion in joining in this mad as well as wicked Undertaking. If the Warrant from the Secretary's Office for apprehending him had been made a greater Secret than it was, he might have been taken, and so his Ruin have been prevented. His Brother is young and bold, but too forward; He has a great deal of Courage, which wants a few more Years, and a better Cause to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in such an Adventure again.

The Second Troop was the Lord *Widdrington's*, commanded by Mr. *Thomas Errington* of *Beaufront*. This Lord's Family has been famous in former Days for many noble Atchievements recorded in History; though there is but a small Part of that left in this Lord, for I could never discover any thing like Boldness or Bravery in him, especially after his Majesty's Forces came before *Preston*: But of this hereafter. Mr. *Errington* that commanded his Lordship's Troop, is a Gentleman of a very ancient Family in *Northumberland*, a younger Brother of the Family of *Errington*: He has very good natural Parts, and had been formerly an Officer in the *French* Service, where he had got the Reputation of a good Soldier. It is believed he would not have engaged in this Rebellion, had not the many Obligations he lay under to the Earl of *Derwentwater* prevailed with him.

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The Third Troop was commanded by Captain *John Hunter*, born upon the River *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*: He had obtain'd a Commission in the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign to raise an *Independent Company*, but never receiv'd any Pay, nor list'd any Men, but when he made use of that Commission now in the Rebellion. He was famous for running uncustomed Goods out of *Scotland* into *England*. He behav'd with great Vigour and Obstinacy in the Action at *Preston*, where he took Possession of some Houses during the Attack, and gall'd that brave Regiment of Brigadier *Preston's*, making a great Slaughter out of the Windows: He has since made his Escape out of *Chester-Castle*, and, as is said, got over into *Ireland*, and from thence to *France*.

The Fourth Troop was commanded by *Robert Douglass*, Brother to the Laird of *Finland* in *Scotland*: He signalized himself upon several Accounts; for going so often, so privately, and expeditiously betwixt *England* and the Earl of *Mar*. He was the Man who brought Mr. *Forster* his Commission, and the Manifestoes and Declarations of the *Pretender*. He was indefatigable in searching for Arms and Horses, a Trade, some were pleas'd to say, he had follow'd out of the Rebellion as well as in it. He was also very vigorous in the Action at *Preston*; where he with his Men were possess'd of several Houses, and did a great deal of Harm to his Majesty's Forces from the Windows. He also made his Escape when a Prisoner either at *Liverpool* or *Chester*.

To this Account of these two Gentlemen, I shall add a pleasant Story, which one was pleas'd to remark upon them. When he heard that the former was gone with his Troop back into *England*, as was then given out, to take up Quarters for the whole Army, who were to follow, and to fall upon General

ral Carpenter and his small and wearied Troops; he said, *Let but Hunter and Douglass with their Men quarter near General Carpenter, and in faith they'll not leave them a Horse to mount on.* His Reason is supposed to be, because these, with their Men, had been pretty well versed in Horse-stealing, or at least suspected as such: For an old Borderer was pleased to say, when he was informed that a great many, if not all, the loose Fellows and suspected Horse-stealers were gone into the Rebellion, *It is an ill Wind blows no body Profit; for now,* continued he, *I can leave my Stable-door unlock'd, and sleep sound, since*
 * *Luck-in-a-Bag and the rest are gone.*

The Fifth Troop was commanded by Captain *Nicholas Wogan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, but descended from an ancient Family of that Name in *Wales*; he joined the Rebels at their first Meeting. He is a Gentleman of a most generous Mind, and a great deal of Bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his Cause: His Bravery was made known by several Instances in the Action at *Preston*: His Generosity, as well as Courage, was most remarkable in bringing off Prisoner Captain *Preston*, of *Preston's* Regiment of Foot, who was mortally wounded thro' the Body by a Bullet from the Rebels, and just at the Point of being cut in Pieces; he hazarded his Life among his own Men, if possible, to save that Gentleman, though an Enemy, and was wounded in doing it: He took also a great deal of Care of him after he had brought him off; for which it is hoped he has obtain'd His Majesty's Pardon. Captain *Preston* himself having, before he died, openly acknowledg'd the Gallantry and Generosity of the Action, and made it his earnest Request that Mr. *Wogan* should be civilly used, for his kind Behaviour to him. Besides these Troops, there were a great many Gentlemen Volunteers that were not formed into any Troop. It is likewise to be obser-

• A Nick-name to a famous Midnight Trader among Horses. ved,

ved, as is noted before, that these Troops were all Double-officer'd, to oblige the several Gentlemen that were among them.

Having thus given an Account of their Troops and Foot Regiments, which might then amount to 1400; I shall give a farther Account of their Marches, and what happened in the Way, till I bring them to the Place of Action. Having continued in *Kelfo* so long as they did, which was from *Saturday* the 22d, to *Thursday* the 27th of *October*, it gave general *Carpenter*, who, as is said, was sent down to pursue them, the Advantage of time to advance by the easier Marches, and to observe their Motions: That General, with the Forces under his Command, viz. *Holbam's* Regiment of Foot, *Cobham's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Churchill's* Dragoons, had march'd from *Newcastle*, and lay now at *Wooller* the 27th, intending to face *Kelfo* the next Day; of which Lord *Kenmure*, who, as I said, commanded the Troops while on the *Scots-Side* of *Twede*, having Notice, called a Council of War, wherein it was seriously considered what Course they should take. And here again my Lord *Wintoun*, as is observ'd already, press'd them earnestly to march away into the West of *Scotland*; but the *English* opposed, and prevailed against that wiser Opinion: Then it was propos'd to pass the *Twede*, and attack the King's Troops, taking the Advantage of the Weakness and Weariness of General *Carpenter's* Men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and were not above 500 Men in Number, whereof two Regiments of Dragoons were new raised, and had never seen any Service. This also was Soldier-like Advice, and which, if they had agreed to, in all Probability they might have worsted them, considering how they were fatigued, and not half the Number the Rebels were. But there was a Fate attended all their Councils, for they could never agree to any one thing that tended to their Advantage.

Advantage. This Design failing, they decamped from
Kelfo, and taking a little to the Right, marched to
Jedburgh. Upon this March they were all alarmed;
 by mistaking a Party of their own Men for some of
 General *Carpenter's* Forces: The Particulars where-
 of were thus; A Party of their own Men appear-
 ing at a distance, Captain *Nicholas Wogan* being de-
 sirous to know who they were, went off towards the
 River's side which parted them, and left me to stand
 at a convenient distance from him, whilst he rid up
 to make a Discovery; if they proved Enemies, he
 was to fire a Pistol, if Friends, he was to toss up his
 Hat. Just at the same time, some of these suspected
 Enemies wanting to know who he was, galloping
 towards him, he mistook them, and fired a Pistol,
 so the Alarm was taken; but the Disorder was not
 great, the Matter being soon discovererd. Then
 they continued their March to *Jedburgh*: The Horse
 having entred that Town, word was brought them
 again, that General *Carpenter* had fallen upon the
 Foot, who had not as yet reach'd the Town. This
 put them into the utmost Conternation: However,
 not being discouraged so as to abandon their Fellows,
 they all mounted their Horses, and marched out to
 relieve their Friends. I here had an Opportunity
 to look into the Faces and Countenances of most of
 the remarkable Leaders, when they formed them-
 selves under the Cover of a Hill. I did then be-
 hold a great Paleness in some Faces, and as much
 Fire and Resolution in others. Whether of these
 Signs were then the true Tokens of Bravery, I
 would not then determine; but afterwards at *Preston*,
 when the Alarm was not false, I ever believed that
 generally the fiery Eye and stern Look were the
 Men of best Courage; but we had most of these
 Men out of Danger at *Preston*; and the former most
 active. This Mistake also was occasioned by ano-
 ther Party of their own Men, who had taken a dif-
 ferent

ferent Rout: And this being likewise discovered, they returned all to their Quarters, according to the *Scots Proverb*, *Worse frighted than hurt*. They staid in this Town till *Saturday* the 29th. And here it being apparent that an Opportunity offering to get the Start of General *Carpenter*, who would be three Days March behind, and the *English* Gentlemen earnestly pressing, it was resolv'd, in an ill hour for them, to cross the Mountains, and march for *England*: Accordingly Captain *Hunter*, who was well acquainted with the Country, was order'd with his Troops to go into *North-Tynedale*, and there provide Quarters for them who would follow. But here began a Mutiny, the Highlanders could not be persuaded to cross the Borders; and tho' many Persuasions were used with them, would not stir a foot: Hereupon the first Resolution was altered, and Orders were sent after Captain *Hunter* to countermand him. In this Town the Magistrates had Orders to furnish the Highlanders with a Quantity of Oatmeal, which they did, by obliging every Housekeeper to pay a certain Quantity according to his Ability. They were joined in this Town by Mr. *Ainsley* of *Blackbill*, with some others. From hence they marched to *Hawick*, a small poor Market-Town belonging to the Dutchess of *Bucklugh*, at whose House the *English* Lords, with their Relations, and Mr. *Forster*, took up their Quarters. Upon this March to *Hawick*, the Highlanders supposing still that the March for *England* was resolv'd on, were disgusted, separated themselves, and went to the Top of a rising Ground, there rested their Arms, and declared that they would fight if they would lead them on to the Enemy, but they would not go to *England*; adhering to the Lord *Wintoun's* Advice, that they would go through the West of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either cross the *Forth* some Miles above *Stirling*, or send word to
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the Earl of *Mar* that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle's* Rear, whilst he fell on his Front, his Number being then very small. Whilst this Humour lasted among them, they would allow none to come and speak with them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, who had tutor'd them in this Project ; assuring them, that if they went for *England*, they would be all cut in pieces, or taken and sold for Slaves ; one part of which has proved too true. This Breach held a great while ; however, at last they were brought to this, tho' not till after two Hours Debate, that they would keep together as long as they staid in *Scotland* ; but upon any Motion of going for *England*, they would return back : So they continued their March to *Hawick*, where they were sore straitned for Quarters. Here the Highlanders, for they always had the Guard, and did all the Duty after they join'd the Horse, discovered from their advanc'd Guards a Party of Horse, who were Patrolling in their Front, took them for Enemies, and gave the Alarm at Midnight ; so all run immediately to Arms : The Moon gave light, and the Night proved very clear ; so the whole Body formed themselves in very good Order to oppose any Attack that should be made. But in the end this proved another false Alarm ; so they all returned to their Quarters. I have heard that this Alarm was designed to try the Highlanders, and to see how they would behave, and whether they would stand chearfully to their Arms if an Enemy appear'd. Mr. *Forster* at this Place sent for Mr. *Buxton*, and told him he had a mind to receive the Sacrament, and ordered him to provide and attend him at his Chamber next Morning before they marched, and to bring Mr. *Patten* along with him ; so both of them obeyed and officiated. When the Service was over, he said, *The Roman Catholics have had the Sacrament administred by a Priest ; when Opportunity serves,*

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we will have all the Protestants ordered to Communicate. Next Morning being Sunday, they made their March to *Langholme*, another small Market-Town belonging to the Dutchess of *Bucclugh*: From hence there was a strong Detachment of Horse sent in the Night for *Achilsfichan*, with Orders to go and block up *Dumfries*, till they could come up and attack it. This Town of *Dumfries* is a very rich Place, and situate very commodiously upon the Mouth of a navigable River on the *Irish* Sea; and maintains a considerable Trade with *England* and the West of *Scotland*; and had they been settled in their Resolutions, they might very easily have made themselves Masters of that Town, there being no regular Forces in it, but some Train-bands, Militia, and Townsmen, which would not have been able to hold out, nor any Fortifications to have assisted them in the Defence of it. Here also they might have furnished themselves with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, which were much wanted, and open'd a Passage to *Glasgow*, one of the best Towns in *Scotland*, or for *England* also if they thought fit. Here also they might have join'd the Highland Clans from the West, besides a great many Country Gentlemen, who on such an Appearance, would have come in to them; so that they might soon have formed a considerable Army: Also here they might have receiv'd Succours from *France* and from *Ireland*, no Men of War being in all those Seas at that Time. In a word, nothing could be a greater Token of a compleat Infatuation, that Heaven confounded all their Devices, and that their Destruction was to be of their own working, than their omitting such an Opportunity of fixing themselves past the Possibility of being attack'd. They were also assured, that in this City there were a great many Arms in the Talbooth ready for all Occasions, in good Order, and a good Quantity of Gunpowder up in the

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Tron

From Steeple ; all which would have been their own. That as to the Duke of *Argyle*, he was in no Condition to have hurt them ; but, on the contrary, would scarce have thought himself safe in *Stirling*, his Troops being not above 2000 Men ; for he had not then been reinforced by the Forces from *Ireland*, nor the *Dutch* from *England*. But all these Arguments were in vain, the *English* Gentlemen were positive for an Attempt upon their own Country, pretending to have Letters from their Friends in *Lancashire*, inviting them thither, and assuring them that there would be a general Insurrection upon their appearing ; that 20000 Men would immediately join them ; and promising them Mountains which they were to perform by Mole-hills. Whether they had any such Expresses or no, is to this Day a Question ; but they affirm'd it to their Army, and urged the Advantages of a speedy March into *England* with such Vehemence, that they turn'd the Scale, and sent an Express after the Party of Horse they had order'd to *Achilfchan*, for them to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*. So the Design of continuing in *Scotland* was quitted. But the Highlanders, whether dealt with underhand by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or whether being convinced of the Advantages they were going to throw away, and the Uncertainties they were bringing upon themselves, halted a second time, and would march no farther. It is true, they did again prevail with their Leaders to march, making great Promises, and giving Money to the Men : But many of the Men were still positive, and that to such an Extremity, that they separated, and about 500 of them went off in Bodies, chusing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves Prisoners, than to go forward to certain Destruction. All imaginable Means were used to have prevented this Desertion, but nothing could prevail on these Men to alter their Resolutions,

lutions, neither fair Promises, nor any Arguments; so they went their ways in Parties over the Tops of the Mountains; the Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewise with good part of his Troop, being very much dissatisfy'd at the Measures, and declaring that they were taking the way to ruin themselves: However, in little time he return'd and join'd the Body, tho' not at all satisfied with their Proceedings; and afterwards was never called to any Council of War, which incensed him mightily against the rest of the Lords and commanding Officers, And in short, he was slighted, having often no Quarters provided for him, and at other times very bad ones, not fit for a Nobleman of his Family; yet being in for it, he resolved to go forwards, and diverted himself with any Company, telling many pleasant Stories of his Travels, and his living unknown and obscurely with a Blacksmith in *France*, whom he served some Years as a Bellows-blower and Under-Servant, till he was acquainted with the Death of his Father, and that his Tutor had given it out that he was dead: Upon which he resolved to return home; and when there met with a cold Reception. He was very curious in working in several Handicraft Matters, and had made good Proficiency in them, witness the nice way he had found to cut asunder one of the Iron Bars in his Window in the *Tower*, by some small Instrument scarce perceivable. They left the small Pieces of Cannon which they had brought from *Kelfo* at *Langholm*, having nailed them up and made them unfit for Service; then they marched for that Night to *Longtoun*, which is within seven Miles of *Carlisle*, and was a very long and fatiguing March. Here they had Intelligence that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a Party of Horse from *Carlisle*, had been there that Day to get Intelligence of their Numbers and Motions; but that upon notice of their coming towards him,

He had retired to his Garison, which then consisted of but a very few Men, having made Mr. *Grabam* of *Inchbrachy* a Prisoner. This Night the Party ordered to *Achilfichan*, returned and join'd us, sore fatigued with their long and dismal March. Next Day they entred *England*, and marched to *Brampton*, a small Market-Town, and the second they came to on the *English* side, belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*. Here nothing happened but proclaiming the *Pretender*, and taking up the Publick Money, viz. the Excise upon Malt and Ale. Here Mr. *Forster* opened his Commission to act as General in *England*, which had been brought him from the Earl of *Mar* by Mr. *Douglas* aforenam'd: And from this Day the Highlanders had Sixpence a Head per Day paid them to keep them in good Order and under Command. Here also Mr. *Forster* and Lord *Kenmure* had the following Letters sent them from the Earl of *Mar*, dated at *Pertb*, *October 21*. The Duplicates of these Letters were it seems intercepted, being those which came by Land, and were made publick by the Government; but these being brought by Sea, and landed near *Bliith*, came safe to their Hands.

My Lord,

I Long extremely to hear from you, you may be sure, since I have not had the least Accounts almost of your Motions since I sent the Detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again, but it was an unlucky Mistake in Brigadier *Metosh*, in marching from *Haddingtown* to *Leith*. I cannot but say though, that it was odd your Lordship sent no Orders or Intelligence to him, when they had Reason to expect that Party's coming over every Day. His Retreat he made from *Leith*, and now from *Seaton*, with the help of the Movement I made from this, makes some
Amends

Amends for that Mistake ; and I hope that Party of Men with him will be of great Use to you and the Cause. I wish you may find a Way of sending the inclosed to Mr. *Forrester*, which I leave open for your Lordship to read ; and I have little further to say to you, than what you will find in it. I know so little of the Situation of your Affairs, that I must leave to yourself what is fit for you to do, as will most conduce to the Service, and I know you will take good Advice.

My humble Service to all Friends with you, particularly Brigadier *Metosh*; Lord *Nairn*, Lord *Charles Murray* and *Metosh*, who, I hope, are joined you long e're now ; and indeed they all deserve Praise for their gallant Behaviour. I must not forget *Kinackin*, who, I hear, spoke so resolutely to the Duke of *Argyle* from the Citadel ; and I hope *Inercall*, and all my Men with him, are well ; and their Countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we all shall soon. I have sent another Copy of the inclosed to Mr. *Forrester* by Sea, so it will be hard if none of them come to his Hands.

I know your Lordship will endeavour to let me hear from you as soon as possible, which I long impatiently for, and I hope you will find a Way of sending it safe. In one of my former, either to your Lordship, or to some body to shew you, I told that a part of the Army would be about *Dumbartoun* ; but now I beg you would not rely upon that, for, till I hear from General *Gordon*, I am uncertain if they hold that Way. I have sent your Lordship a Copy of my Commission, which perhaps you have not seen before. I have named the General Officers, and your Lordship has the Rank of Brigadier, of the Horse.

‘ I am told the Earl of *Wintoun* has been very useful to our Men we sent over. I suppose he is now with your Lordship, and I beg you may make my Compliment to his Lordship, and I hope the King will soon thank him himself.

‘ I will trouble your Lordship no farther now, but all Success attend you, and may we soon have a merry Meeting, I am, with all Respect,

My Lord,

Your most obedient and

most humble Servant,

M A R,

From the Camp at *Perth*,
October 21, 1715.

From the Camp at Perth, Oct. 21. 1715.

S I R,

‘ I Wrote to you of the 17th from *Auchterarder*, which I hope you got. I marched the same Night, the Horse to *Dumblain*, within four Miles of *Stirling*, and the Foot some Miles short of that Place. Next Morning I had certain Intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle*’s returning from *Edinburgh* with most of the Troops he had carried there, and was on their March towards *Stirling*: I also had an Account of *Evans*’s Regiment landed in the West of *Scotland* from *Ireland*, and were on their Way to *Stirling*. I had come away from *Perth* before our Provisions were ready to go with us, and I found all the Country about *Stirling*, where we were to pass *Forth*, was intirely exhausted by the Enemy, so there was nothing
‘ for

' for us to subsist on there. I had no Account from
 ' General *Gordon*, as I expected; and the soonest I
 ' could expect him at the Heads of *Forth*, was two
 ' Days after that, and I could not think of passing
 ' *Forth* till I was join'd by him. Under these Dif-
 ' ficulties, and having got one of the Things I de-
 ' signed by my March, *the Duke of Argyle's with-*
 ' *drawing from our Friends in Lothian*, I thought it
 ' fit to march back to *Auchterarder*, which was a
 ' better Quarter, tho' not a good one neither. Next
 ' Morning I got Intelligence of the Duke of *Ar-*
 ' *gyle's* being come to *Stirling* the Night before, and
 ' that he had sent Express upon Express to *Evans's*
 ' Dragoons to hasten up. I had a Letter also, that
 ' Morning from General *Gordon*, telling me that
 ' some Things had kept him up longer than he ex-
 ' pected; that it would be that Day e'er he could
 ' be at *Inverary*; and that he could not possibly
 ' join me this Week: Upon this I thought it better
 ' to return here, which is a good Quarter, and
 ' wait his coming up, and the Lord *Seaforth's*,
 ' than continue at *Auchterarder*, since it would not
 ' a bit retard my passing the *Forth* when I should
 ' be in a Condition to do it; and in the mean
 ' time I could be getting Provisions ready to carry
 ' along with me in my March, which, as I have
 ' told, are absolutely necessary about the Heads of
 ' *Forth*: So I came Home last Night.

' I very much regret my being oblig'd to this,
 ' for many Reasons, particularly because of its keep-
 ' ing me so much the longer from joining you;
 ' but you easily see it was not in my Power to help
 ' it. However, I hope my Stay here will be very
 ' short, and you may depend upon its being no longer
 ' than it necessarily must. The Passage over the *Forth*
 ' is now so extremely difficult that it's scarce pos-
 ' sible to send any Letters that Way; and within
 ' these two Days there were two Boats coming

' over with Letters to me, that were so hard pur-
 ' sued, that they were obliged to throw the Letters
 ' into the Sea ; so that I know very little of our
 ' Friends on that side, and less of you, which is
 ' no small Loss to me. I heard to Day, by word
 ' of Mouth, that the Detachment I sent over are
 ' marched and joined our Friends in the South of
 ' *Scotland*, so I hope they may be yet useful, but
 ' I hope you know more of them than I do. I
 ' have now writ to Lord *Kenmure*, but it is ten to
 ' one if it comes to his Hands. I know not what
 ' he is doing, where he is, or what Way he in-
 ' tends to dispose of his People ; whether he is to
 ' march into *England*, or towards *Stirling*, to wait
 ' my passing *Forth* ; and in the Ignorance I am in
 ' of your Affairs besouth the River, I scarce know
 ' what to advise him. If you be in need of his
 ' Assistance in *England*, I doubt not but you have
 ' called him there ; but if not, certainly his being
 ' in the Rear of the Enemy, when I pass *Forth* ;
 ' or now that the Duke of *Argyle* is reinforced ;
 ' should he march towards me before I am, it would
 ' be of great Service. I am forced in a great mea-
 ' sure to leave it to himself, to do as he finds most
 ' expedient.

' I am afraid the Duke of *Ormond* is not as yet
 ' come to *England*, else I should have had the Cer-
 ' tainty of it, one way or other, before now. I
 ' cannot conceive what detains him nor the King
 ' from coming here ; however, I am sure it is none
 ' of their Fault, and I hope they will both surprize
 ' us agreeably very soon.

' I believe I told you in my last, of the Lord
 ' *Strathmore* and 200 of the Detachment that were
 ' going over *Forth*, and drove into the Island
 ' of *May* by three Men of War, who being got
 ' safe ashore on this Side, are now joined us again.
 ' There were but two of all the Boats taken ; and
 ' I hear,

‘ I hear, some of the Men that were in them, who
 ‘ were made Prisoners in *Leith*, were reliev’d by
 ‘ our Men, when they came there, but that their
 ‘ Officers were sent to *Edinburgh* Castle ; so I
 ‘ want some Reprisals for them, which I hope to
 ‘ have e’er long.

‘ Tho’ *Metosh* Brigadier’s Mistake in going to
 ‘ *Leith* was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet
 ‘ it has given the Duke of *Argyle* no little Trouble ;
 ‘ and our March obliging him to let them slip, has,
 ‘ I am apt to believe, vex’d him.

‘ I beg you will find some Way to let me hear
 ‘ from you. Ever since my Detachments were in
 ‘ *Fyfe*, all the Men of War that cruised on the
 ‘ North Coast, betwixt *Peterhead* and the *Firth*,
 ‘ have been in the *Firth*, and, I believe, will con-
 ‘ tinue there, to prevent my sending more over that
 ‘ Way : So all that Coast is clear, which I wish to
 ‘ God the King knew ; and you may easily send a
 ‘ Boat here any-where, with Letters from *England*.
 ‘ I hear there is one of the Regiments of Foot from
 ‘ *Ireland* come to *Stirling*.

‘ When you write to me, if by Sea, pray send
 ‘ me some News-Papers, that I may know what
 ‘ the World is doing, for we know little of it here
 ‘ these eight Days. Success attend you ; and I am,
 ‘ with all Truth and Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

M A R.

Directed thus,

To Mr. *Forrester* with the King’s Forces in
Northumberland.

They

They halted one Night at *Brampton*, to refresh the Men after their hard Marches; having march'd above 100 Miles in five Days. The next Day they advanced towards *Penrith*: They expected to have met with some Friends here to join them; for it was reported that Mr. *Dacre* of *Abbeylanner-Coast*, a Papist, had promised to raise 40 Men; but he was taken with a fortunate Fever, which hindred him of his Design, and prevented him and his Family from Ruin: He died since; his Name, which was very ancient, is now extinct in that Estate. As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice that the Sheriff, with the *Posse Comitatus*, were got together, with the Lord *Lonsdale*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, to the Number of 14,000 Men, who resolv'd to stand and oppose their penetrating farther into *England*. The first part of this was very true, viz. That the *Posse* was drawn together, nor was their Number much less. But they gave the Rebel Army no occasion to try, whether they would stand or no; for as soon as a Party, who they sent but for Discovery, had seen some of our Men coming out of a Lane by the Side of a Wood, and draw up upon a Common or Moor in Order, and then advance, and that they had carried an Account of this to their main Body, they broke up their Camp in the utmost Confusion, shifting every one for themselves as well as they could, as is generally the Case of an arm'd, but undisciplin'd Multitude.

The Lord *Lonsdale*, whose Predecessors have been famous for their Loyalty as well as Antiquity, had had still considerable Interest in that Country. This Nobleman, tho' young, has very valuable and endearing Accomplishments, and no small share of Courage; tho' some were pleas'd to reflect upon him for his Retreat from *Penrith*; but those that know how naked and unprepar'd that Multitude were of all warlike Arms and Stores, justly commend

mend his wife Conduct, to retreat and prevent the Effusion of so much Blood and innocent Lives, which would have been of bad Consequence, and no Service to his Master's Interest, which, I am assured of, he prefers before his own Life, or the Preservation thereof. He retired no farther than *Appleby* Castle that Night, but 10 Miles from the Rebels Quarters, and less from a Detachment advanced to his own House; so if Fear or Cowardice had possess'd him, as one of *Appleby* hinted to the Rebel Lords and *Forster*, he might have, with a good Retinue well mounted, with ease gone over *Stonemore* into *Yorkshire*: But the brightest Characters are not bespattered or sullied with the faulty Breath of Malice.

Altho' their coming together was very little to the Purpose, yet, as the Rebels were greatly animated by their sudden and disorderly separating over the whole Country, the Horse who were very near them, made some Booty among them, taking several Horses, and a great many Arms. The whole Body of the Rebels being now come up, made a Halt upon the Moor near the Town, and drew up in Order of Battle, that they might enter the Town in a good Figure. Here Mr. *Patten*, being acquainted with the Country, and having formerly been Curate of that Town, was ordered out with a Party of Horse to intercept the Bishop of *Carlisle*, of whom, it seems, they had some Intelligence. This Lord is known to be not only a compleat Scholar in all manner of Learning, but likewise a Man of Courage and brave Soul. I believe, if there had happened any Contest betwixt the two Parties, he would have been willing to have taken a Share in the hottest Part of the Dispute. He was returning to his Seat of *Rose-Castle* when Mr. *Patten* was sent after him. But Mr. *Forster*, upon other Information, sent an Express after him, and counter-

countermanded that Order, and directed him to march forwards quite through the Town of *Penrith* to *Emont-Bridge*; and there he had Orders to beset a House where he was told he should find his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Johnston*, Collector of the Salt-Tax, whom he was ordered to make Prisoner, and to bring him, with his Books, Papers, and what Money he had belonging to the Government, to the Army: But Mr. *Johnston* gave them the slip, and had made his Escape before Mr. *Patten* came up with his Party. However, Mr. *Patten*, upon this little Expedition, took several of the *Posse Comitatus* above-named Prisoners, and committed them to the Guard, taking their Arms from them. Of all this Number of People, which, as is said, were got together upon the Moor by *Penrith*, there were none received any hurt, but one Man that was shot through the Arm; for Orders were given not to fire upon them, unless they resisted, which they were wiser than to do. In this Town, which is the richest and most plentiful of that part of the Country, they refreshed themselves very comfortably; tho' the Inhabitants cannot charge them with any Rudeness, Violence, or Plunder in the least. The Pretender was proclaimed, and the Excise and other publick Money was taken up, as had been the Usage all along, and all the Arms they could get were seiz'd. Tho' this Town is very Loyal, yet still there were some that informed where they might be furnished, inasmuch, that they were acquainted where Mr. *John Patten*, an Attorney, had hid some Arms of his own, and others belonging to Sir *Christopher Musgrave* of *Edenball*. The chief People of this Town, with Mr. *Whelpdale*, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, agreed, when they heard of the Rebels Advance, wisely to consult their own Interest and Safety, by shewing all manner of Civility to their Enemies; Prudence and Necessity obliging them

them to act that Part, which Force constrain'd them
 unwillingly to comply with. In this Town there is
 a *Presbyterian Meeting-House*, which some desired
 Leave or Encouragement from Mr. *Forster* to pull
 down, or burn: But he would not condescend there-
 to, adding, *That he was to gain by Clemency, and not*
by Cruelty. There was one *Ossington*, formerly an
 Excise-man, that performed both these Offices
 whilst in *England*; and what Money he receiv'd,
 he paid to Mr. *William Tunstall*, who was consti-
 tuted their Pay-Master General. While they con-
 tinued here, they began to look into the Country a
 little, as well for their Friends, as to furnish them-
 selves with Arms and Horses; for of the latter they
 were in great Want: And first, there was a Party
 sent to *Lowther-Hall*, the Seat of the Viscount *Lons-
 dale*, three Miles distant from *Penrith* in the County
 of *Westmoreland*, to see for his Lordship, if he could
 have been found, and to search for Arms, but they
 found neither. They stay'd all Night at the House,
 where, to do them Justice, they behav'd very civilly,
 though it was otherwise reported; particularly, I
 have heard it was complained of, that the Rebels
 were rude, in defacing some Statues, and spoiling the
 Gardens and Trees; but nothing is more false, for
 they were commanded by Colonel *Oxburgh* an old
 Soldier, and a Man whose generous Temper would
 not allow him to do any thing so base. Having stay'd
 at *Penrith* that Night, and, as is said, refresh'd them-
 selves very well, the next Day they march'd for *Apple-
 by*. It is to be observ'd, that there were none of any
 account had yet join'd them on this March; for all the
 Papists on that Side the Country were secur'd before-
 hand in the Castle of *Carlisle*, viz. Mr. *Howard* of
Corbee-Castle, a Papist, Mr. *Warwick* of *Warwick-
 Hall*, a Papist, converted to that Church some
 Years ago, and lately made Steward to a Lord in
 the *North*; which occasioned a merry Rogue to say,
 when

when he saw this Gentleman proclaiming a Fair at the Head of the Tenants, that it was a monstrous Sight, to see a Popish Head upon an *English* Body; and *James Graham* of *Inchbracky*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, who had fled his Country for killing the Lord *Rollo's* Brother. He was a Relation to the Lord *Nairn*; and therefore there was a Proposal sent to Brigadier *Stanwix*, Deputy-Governor of *Carlisle*, a very good Soldier, to acquaint him, That if he would discharge this Gentleman out of the Castle, that then Mr. *Wyburgh*, one of the Militia Officers taken by the Rebels, should be set at Liberty; but the Brigadier return'd an Answer, That he would hear no Terms from Rebels, &c. Besides these, there was *Henry Curwen*, Esq; of *Workington*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Estate in that Country, &c. secured himself likewise in the Castle of *Carlisle*. Now, instead of increasing, the Rebels Number decreased; for Mr. *Aynsly* who joined them at *Fedburgh*, not liking the Prospect of their Affairs, nor their Management, deserted them, and several with him. Here Mr. *Patten* was in great Danger of being taken by the Sheriff of the County; and had he stay'd a quarter of an Hour longer than he did, he had certainly fallen into their Hands; for being engag'd with some Acquaintance who stopt him some time after his Rebel Friends were march'd, the Sheriff, who had got notice of him, spar'd no Diligence to have taken him, but came a little too late. On the March to *Appleby*, the Highlanders, who are exceeding good Marksmen, shot several Rabbits, and two or three Deer in *Whinfield-Park*, very well stock'd with both, belonging to the Earl of *Thanet*. Mr. *John Hall*, who was not much respected by the Chief of the Rebels, stay'd behind them at Mr. *Hall's* of *Temple-Sowerby*, which gave suspicion to some to believe that he was gone off. Whatever were his Reasons for this, and the like, next Night, whilst

at

at *Appleby*, none knows ; for he went off some Miles to a Clergyman's House in the Commission for the Peace, who might have secur'd him, so that the Rebels would not have known thereof: Yet as all his Plea at his Trial was, " That he was willing to " make his Escape, but was so narrowly look'd to, " that he never could get an Opportunity," may be a standing Evidence, that he valu'd not what he said, A short Abstract of his Life shall be added among the List of the rest of the Gentlemen at the End of the *First Part*.

Being come to *Appleby* the 3d of *November*, they halted again, and stay'd there till the 5th. This is an ancient Corporation, and the head Town of the County of *Westmoreland*: The Assizes are held here, It was formerly a famous *Roman* Station. Here, during their Stay, nothing material happen'd but as usual, Proclaiming the *Pretender*, and taking up the Publick Money. Here taking possession of the Church, Mr. *Patten* had Orders to read Prayers, if the Parson or Curate refused ; but they were not very backward as to the thing itself, though they thought it their safest way modestly to excuse themselves, testifying, however, their Satisfaction, in giving Orders for the Bells to ring, and having all things made ready for the Service ; nor did the Parson and his Curate scruple to grace the Assembly with their Presence, or to join in the Prayers for the *Pretender* ; which encourag'd the Highlanders to believe the High-church Party were entirely theirs, and would join in a little time. Whilst here, they made Mr. *Thomas Wyburch*, a Captain of the Train-Bands, a Prisoner, and carry'd him, Mr. *Senbouse*, and some others suspected as Spies, to *Preston*, and there they continued as such till his Majesty's Forces set them at Liberty. They kept Mr. *Baines* some time a Prisoner in the *Mute-Hall*, being inform'd against by some in the Town, for knowing where the

the Excise-Money was lodg'd, and obnoxious to the Malice of the Tory Party, as Bailiff to the Earl of *Wharton*: He was afterwards discharg'd. Whilst at this Place, they might have made themselves Masters of two Companies of Invalids then upon their Rout to *Carlisle*, and were sore fatigued with a long March in that Season of the Year, whose Arms would have been of singular Use to the Rebels; though these *Chelsea-Collegians* were old and well disciplin'd, and resolv'd to make a vigorous Defence, if assaulted, by forming themselves into a hollow Square, under the Conduct of undaunted Officers, whom they assured they would live and die by. They were within three Miles of the whole Rebel Army, the latter knowing nothing of them, whose Horse and superior Numbers would certainly have over-power'd them.

On the 5th they set out for *Kendal* a Town of very good Trade. Here they remain'd all Night; and the next Morning, being *Sunday* the 6th, they set forward for *Kirbylonsdale* a small Market-town in *Westmoreland*. This Day's March was short, so they came early to their Quarters, and had time to proclaim the *Pretender*, and in the Afternoon to go to Church, where Mr. *Patten* read Prayers, the Parson of the Place absconding. There was one Mr. *Guin*, who went into the Churches in their Way, and scratched out His Majesty King *GEORGE's* Name, and placed the *Pretender's* so nicely, that it resembled Print very much; and the Alteration could scarce be perceiv'd. In all the March to this Town, which is the last in *Westmoreland*, there were none joined them but one Mr. *John Dalston*, and another Gentleman from *Richmond*, though we had now march'd through two very populous Counties; but here Friends began to appear, for some *Lancashire* Papists with their Servants came and join'd them. Next Day, being the 7th of *November*, they march'd

to *Lancaster*, a Town of very good Trade, very pleasantly seated, and which, had they thought fit to have held it, might easily have been made strong enough to have made a Stand for them ; and having an old Castle for their Arms, Stores, and Provisions, and a Sea Port to have received Succours, it might have been very useful to them ; but our Infatuations were not yet over.

In the March from *Kendal* to *Lancaster*, the whole Army drew up upon a Hill, and lay some time upon their Arms, to rest the Men. During which time, Mr. *Charles Widdrington*, second Brother to the Lord *Widdrington*, came from *Lancashire*, whither he was sent some Days before the Rebels advanced, to acquaint the Gentlemen of that County with their marching that way ; he return'd with the News of their Chearfulness, and Intention to join them with all their Interest, and that the *Pretender* was that Day proclaim'd at *Manchester*, where the Town's-People had got Arms to furnish a Troop of Fifty Men at their sole Charge, besides other Volunteers. This roused the Spirits of the Highlanders, and animated them exceedingly ; nor was it more than needed, for they had often complain'd before, that all the Pretences of Numbers to join were come to little, and that they should soon be surrounded by numerous Forces. But on this News they pluck'd up their Hearts, gave three Huzza's, and then continu'd their March into *Lancaster*. Colonel *Chartres*, and another Officer who was then in the Town, would have blown up the Bridge which leads into the Place, to hinder us from entering ; but the People of the Town shewing their Unwillingness, and especially because, as they said, it would no wise hinder our Entrance into the Place, seeing the River at Low-water was passable by Foot or Horse, and that we could easily find Boats to pass into the Town ; and that as it would be a vast

Charge to rebuild the Bridge so strong and fine as before, so it would be a Loss to no manner of End. Then these two Gentlemen finding a Quantity of Powder in some Merchants Hands, order'd it to be thrown into a Draw-well in the Market-place, lest it should fall into our Hands.

In this Town Sir *Henry Haughton*, Member of Parliament for *Preston*, a Gentleman of known good Intentions and steady Loyalty to the Protestant Succession, used his best Endeavours to have all Things put out of the way that might be serviceable to the Rebels. In the River which runs by *Lancaster* there lay a Ship of about 500 Tons, belonging to Mr. *Hisbam* of *London*, and Mr. *Lawson* an eminent Quaker in Town, on board of which there were six Pieces of Cannon, some Blunderbusses, and small Arms: Sir *Henry* thought it convenient that these Arms should be brought from the Ship, and made use of for his Majesty's Service (having then a Resolution to defend the Bridge,) to this End he sent for *Lawson*, and requested that the Cannon might be brought from the Ship, then five Miles distant from the Town, to be used as aforesaid; which he positively refused: But being still pressed to grant that Demand, he at last came to this Resolution, That he would by no means part with the Cannon, unless Sir *Henry Haughton* would give him a Bond of 10000 Pounds to insure the Ship against any Damages she might sustain from the Rebels, who, he said, would not forbear to burn the Ship and Cargo, upon the least Notice that he had parted with the Cannon to oppose them. But it is more probable that the Ship would have been rifled or destroy'd if Sir *Henry* had given his Bond, he being very obnoxious to the Rage of the Rebels for his Vigilance and Care. Upon this Refusal, Sir *Henry* desired that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-
Council

Council might meet in the Afternoon, to consult about this important Affair; which they did accordingly. Being met, it was then proposed by Sir *Henry Haughton*, *Charles Rigby Esq*; and *Francis Chartres Esq*; who were also zealous for his Majesty's Interest, that the Cannon on board the Vessel then in the River should be deliver'd for his Majesty's Service: Which was refused. But these three Gentlemen being in the Commission for the Peace, produced a Warrant ready drawn up for seizing the Cargo and Arms on board the Vessel above-mention'd. *Lawson* finding this to press hard, acquiesced. At this time there were some Dragoons in *Preston*, who were advis'd to advance to *Lancaster*; but having no Orders for that March, continued there till they were order'd to *Wigan*. Upon this, Sir *Henry Haughton* having Intelligence that the Rebels were within 16 Miles of him, he went from *Lancaster* with 600 Militia, and with them retired to *Preston*. Before he left *Lancaster*, finding that the Cannon already mention'd could be of no Use to him, having not a sufficient Number of Men to cover that Town, he order'd Mr. *Lawson* to fall down the River with his Vessel, out of the reach of the Rebels, so that his Cannon might not fall into their Hands. Which Mr. *Lawson* did not obey; for the Rebels having enter'd *Preston*, they had Intelligence, by a Gentleman of no mean Figure, of the Cannon, and of all that pass'd in the Town.

After all this, as said, we enter'd the Town without Opposition in very good Order, and march'd to the Market-place, where the whole Body was drawn up round the Cross, and there with Sound of Trumpet proclaimed the *Pretender*: Then the Men were billeted and quarter'd in every Part of the Town; which was very well able to entertain them all. The same Night a Party of Horse were sent to Colonel *Chartres's* House, which is a few Miles from *Lancaster*.

caster, belonging to a fine Estate which he has lately purchased there, called *Hornby-Hall*; this Party were detached thither before we entered *Lancaster*, by another Way, under the Command of Colonel *Oxburgh*: They did no Harm to the House, nor to any thing about it, tho' it was reported, and that presently by himself, to ingratiate himself with the Government, that they committed several Disorders, to the Owner's great Loss. But he could never make out the Loss; nor was there any Truth in the Charge, for they behaved very civilly, only made free with a few Bottles of his Wine and strong Beer. When this Colonel demanded of one that had the Care of the House, how much he did insist upon for what the Men and Horses had received, he brought in a Bill of 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for which the Colonel gave his Note, payable when his Master's Concerns were settled. On the other hand, if these Men had not been sent thither, but that the *Scots* had been allow'd to pay their Countryman's House a Visit, they would not have scrupled to have set it on fire, so well is he respected by them; and that not on account of his Affection or Disaffection to one Side or other, but on account of his own personal Character, which is known not to have been very acceptable to those who are acquainted with him. They continued at *Lancaster* from *Monday* the 7th to *Wednesday* the 9th, during which time they seized some new Arms which were in the Custom-House, and some Claret, and a good Quantity of Brandy, which was all given to the Highlanders to oblige them: They likewise took up all the Money belonging to the Revenue, which was either in the Excise-Office or Custom-House, six Pieces of Cannon, which they seized, and mounted upon new Carriages (the Wheels that mounted these Cannon belong'd to Sir *Henry Haughton's* Coaches) and carried them to *Preston*; of which hereafter. During their Stay at *Lancaster* they had Prayers read in this Church

Church by Mr. *Patten*, the Parson of the Place excusing himself. It seems he was not so averse to it, any more than some of his Brethren ; but he wanted to see how the Scales would turn before he could think of venturing so far. From this Town Mr. *Buxton* a Clergyman was sent off with Letters to some Gentlemen in *Derbyshire*, where his Acquaintance lay. It was a lucky Errand for him, for by that means he had the good fortune to escape being taken at *Preston*. He was a well-bred and good humour'd Gentleman, but his Constitution could not bear the Hardships of such an Undertaking as this, especially of the long Marches in that Season of the Year. He went to his own Country, and there fell ill of the Small-Pox ; but hearing that narrow Search was made for him, he was obliged to remove, even in that Condition, and has not since been heard of.

As the old Saying goes, *Uno avulso non desinit alter* : So it was here ; for that very Day Mr. *Buxton* went from *Lancaster*, the unhappy Mr. *Paul* came thither.

The Life and Character of Mr. Paul.

William Paul Clerk, who liv'd and dy'd a Bachelor was the Son of *John Paul*, of *Little Asby* near *Lutterworth* in the County of *Leicester*, lately deceas'd ; his Mother was Daughter of Mr. *Barfoot* of *Streetfields* in *Warwickshire* : They had a Freehold Estate of about 60. or 70 l. per Annum, liv'd in good Repute, and had five Children, of which *William* was Eldest, and born at *Asby* aforesaid, about the Year 1678 ; brought up at School, the greatest part of his time, by the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Seagrave* Rector of *Leir* in *Leicestershire*. About the Year 1697 he removed to a School at *Rugby* in

Warwickshire, and remained there, under the Care of Mr. *Holyoak* Master thereof, for near two Years; and from thence he went to *Cambridge*, and was admitted into *St. John's College*, about *May 1698*, and Mr. *John Harris* Fellow of the same, where he contracted his Acquaintance with Mr. *Forster*. He was at first a Sizer, and then made Scholar; soon after which his Tutor died, and he (as they say in *Cambridge*) became Servitor to Mr. *Edmundson* and Mr. *Lambert*, and not long after went into Orders. He was Curate at *Carlton Curlieu* near *Harborough, Leicestershire*, and at the same time Chaplain to Sir *Geoffry Palmer*. From thence he went to *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, and was Curate and Usher of the Free-School there. He went from thence to *Nun-Eaton* in *Warwickshire*, and was Curate to Mr. *Foxcraft*. From thence he removed, being presented to the Vicarage of *Horton on the Hill, Leicestershire*, by the late Lord Bishop of *Oxon*. The Village is situate in the South-west Corner of the County, both in the Deanry and Hundred of *Sparckenboe*; it is valued in the King's Books at 6*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and the improved Rents are near 60*l.* per Annum. He was instituted into the aforesaid Vicarage by his Grace the present Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, then Bishop of *Lincoln*, on the 5th of *May 1709*; to qualify himself for which, he took the usual Oaths to *Queen Anne*, and abjured the Pretender. He went down with Mr. *Gascoign*, Mr. *Cotton*, and some Others to meet the Rebels at *Preston*; was seized on the Way by one commonly called Major *Bradshaw*, and Mr. *Matthews*, a Clergyman; and set at Liberty again by one Colonel *Noel* a Justice of the Peace: But being born for his Destiny, he goes to *Lancaster*, there join'd the Rebels, and at *Preston* importuned Mr. *Patten* that he might read Prayers; which was granted him; tho' unwillingly, because he was in a Lay-Dress: There

There he read Prayers thrice for the *Pretender* as King. Just before the King's Troops invested that Town, he went out, borrowing Mr. *Patten's* black Coat, and leaving a Blue one; he said he had Letters to a Lord in *Staffordshire*. He was taken by General *Wills*, but discharged. He called in his own Country, in his way to *London*, where he appear'd in colour'd Cloaths, laced Hat, and long Wig, and a Sword by his Side; but he was accidentally met near *Montague-House* by *Thomas Bird Esq*; Justice of the Peace for the County of *Leicester*, who knew him, and took him Prisoner; Decemb. 12. 1715. He was carried to the Duke of *Devonshire's*, afterwards Lord *Townsend's*, Principal Secretary of State, there examin'd, and put into a Messenger's House, and 14 Days after was sent to *Newgate*. He was arraigned at *Westminster* on May 31. pleaded at first, Not Guilty: Afterwards he withdrew his Plea; was found Guilty; and July 13. 1716. Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd at *Tyburn*.

At first, when Mr. *Paul* intended to engage, he came boldly up to Mr. *Forster*, as he was at Dinner with Mr. *Patten* at the Recorder of *Lancaster's* House; he entred the Room in a Blue Coat, with a long Wig and a Sword, and Mr. *John Cotton* of *Cambridgeshire* with him. They let him know who they were, and in a flourishing way made a tender of their Services for the Cause; which Mr. *Forster* accepting, they withdrew. Then Mr. *Forster* told Mr. *Patten* that the Taller of the two Gentlemen was a Clergyman, and was of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and that he had given him a perfect Account of General *Carpenter's* Marches, and that he was then at *Bernard's-Castle* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, that his Men and Horses were sore fatigued, and the like. All which was true enough; tho' their being so fatigued, did not hinder their

March after us. While we were in this Town our Number increased considerably; and had we staid here, or kept Garison here, they would have continued so to do. For in that time a great many *Lancashire* Gentlemen joined us, with their Servants and Friends. It's true, they were most of them Papists; which made the *Scots* Gentlemen and the Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the Cause; for they expected all the High-Church Party to have joined them. Indeed, that Party, who never are right hearty for the Cause, 'till they are Mellow, as they call it, over a Bottle or two, began now to shew us their Blind-side; and that it is their just Character, that they do not care for venturing their Carcasses any farther than the Tavern. There indeed, with their *High-Church* and *Ormond*, they would make Men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest Opposition in the World; but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them, that they generally become mighty Tame, and are apt to Look before they Leap, and with the Snail, if you touch their Houses, they hide their Heads, shrink back, and pull in their Horns. I have heard Mr. *Forster* say he was blustered into this Business by such People as these, but that for the time to come he would never again believe a drunken Tory.

Having now received what addition of Force they could expect in that part of the Country, and having first discharged some Prisoners of their Friends who were in the Castle, particularly the famous *Tom-Syddal*, a Mob Captain, who was in this Goal for the Riot at *Manchester*, when the Meeting-House was pull'd down; tho' all or most of the Prisoners, who were a considerable Number, got upon the Leads of the Castle, and seeing us advance, gave loud Huzza's. I went to view that
ancient

ancient Place, so famous in our History, where the Prisoners desired me to represent their Case to Mr. *Forster*, which I did ; but was told by him, That they should have his Master's Pardon speedily, and in the mean time ordered *Syddal*, and another Prisoner for Treasonable Words, to be discharged. It was time now to advance and open the Way for their other Friends to come in ; for as they had News daily of Troops gathering to oppose them, it was time to extend themselves, that they might join all those who had promised their Assistance. To this end, they moved from *Lancaster*, taking the Road to *Preston*, and designing to possess themselves of *Warrington-Bridge*, and of the Town of *Manchester*, where they had Assurances of great Numbers to join them ; and by this means they made no doubt of securing the great and rich Town of *Liverpool*, which would be cut off from any Relief, if they were once possess'd of *Warrington-Bridge*. According to these Measures the Horse reach'd *Preston* that Night : The Day proving rainy, and the Ways deep, they left the Foot at a small Market-Town called *Garstang*, half-way between *Lancaster* and *Preston* : Here the unfortunate Mr. *Muncaster* join'd us, who was afterwards executed, yet died very Penitent, and own'd King GEORGE for his only lawful Sovereign ; but the blazed Rumor of *the Church's being in Danger*, hasten'd him to the fatal Tree. He was of very good Sense and Natural Parts, brought up an Attorney. The Foot were order'd to advance early next Morning to *Preston*, which they did accordingly. The Horse, as is said, entred *Preston* that Night, and found that two Troops of *Stanhope's* Dragoons, formerly quartered there, had removed upon their Approach. This encouraged them exceedingly, and made them imagine that the King's Forces would not look them in the Face. The Foot coming up next Day, being

being *Thursday* the 10th of *November*, they marched straight to the Cross, and were there drawn up as usual, whilst the *Pretender* was proclaimed. Here they were also joined by a great many Gentlemen, with their Tenants, Servants, and Attendants; and some of very good Figure in the Country; but still all Papists. They once resolved to have marched out of *Preston*, and Order was given to get ready on the *Friday*; but that Order was countermanded, and they resolved to continue till the next Day, and then to advance. All this while they had not the least Intimation of the Forces that were preparing to oppose them, much less of the near approach of the King's Army: And as it is a Question often asked, and which very few can answer, viz. How they came to be so utterly void of Intelligence at that time, as to be so ignorant of the March of the King's Forces, and to know nothing of them till they were within Sight of *Preston*, and ready almost to fall upon them? It may be very proper to give a plain and direct Answer to it, which will in short be this, viz. That in all their Marches Mr. *Forster* spared neither Pains nor Cost to be acquainted with all General *Carpenter's* Motions, of which he had constant and particular Accounts every Day, and sometimes twice a Day; but the *Lancashire* Gentlemen gave him such Assurances that no Force could come near them by Forty Miles but they could inform him thereof, this made him perfectly easy on that side, relying entirely on the Intelligence he expected from them: And therefore, when on the *Saturday* Morning he had given Orders for his whole Army to march from *Preston* towards *Manchester*, it was extremely surprizing, and he could scarce credit the Reports that General *Wills* was advancing from *Wigan* to attack them: But he was soon satisfied of the Truth of it by Messengers on all hands. That Morning Mr. *Paul* the Clergy-

Clergyman went off with Letters, *as he then said*, to a Noble Lord in *Staffordshire*, and some Friends in *Leicestershire*: He met General *Wills* and his Troops on the Road, who stopped him and asked him some Questions; but not suspecting he was one of the Rebels, he himself also putting on a contrary Face, let him go: But I shall have occasion to say more of him. The Alarm being now given, a Body of the Rebels marched out of the Town as far as *Ribble-Bridge*, posting themselves there; and Mr. *Foster*, with a Party of Horse, went beyond it to get a certain Account of things; when discovering the Vanguard of the Dragoons, he returned another Way, not coming back by the Bridge. He ordered Mr. *Patten* with all haste to ride back, and give an Account of the Approach of the King's Army, and to give Orders to prepare to receive them, whilst he went to view a Ford in the River, in order for a Passage to come behind them. The Foot that were advanced to the Bridge were about 100; but they were choice, stout, and well-armed Men, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *John Farquharson* of *Invercall*, belonging to *Mackintosh's* Battalion: He was a good Officer and a very bold Man, and would have defended that important Pass of the Bridge to the last Drop, and till the rest had advanced and drawn themselves out of the Town; but he was order'd to retreat to *Preston*: This Retreat was another wrong Step, and has been condemned on all hands as one of the greatest Oversights they could be guilty of; for the River is not fordable but a good way above and below the Bridge, which they might have made impassable also, by several Methods practised on like Occasions. As for the Bridge, they might have barricado'd it so well, that it would have been impracticable to have pass'd there, or to have dislodg'd them from it; also they had Cannon, which General *Wills* wanted. And here alone indeed it might be said

said they were in a Condition to have made an effectual Stand ; for here the King's Forces would have been entirely exposed to their Fire, having no Cover ; whereas the Rebels could have very much secured themselves against the others Fire by the Bridge, and by the Rising-Ground near it. General *Wills* did indeed expect some Difficulty and Opposition at this Place, believing, by their Situation, that the Rebels would have made their greatest Effort at that Place ; but understanding by his Advance-Guard that the Rebels had abandon'd that Post, he was surprized, and suspected that then they had some Stratagem in hand, and perhaps had lined the Hedges, and so made the Lane unpassable for his Men. The Lane is indeed very deep, and so narrow that in several Places two Men cannot ride a-breast. This is that famous Lane, at the end of which *Oliver Cromwell* met with a stout Resistance from the King's Forces, who from the Height rolled down upon him and his Men (when they had entred the Lane) huge large Mill-stones ; and if *Oliver* himself had not forced his Horse to jump into a Quick-Sand, he had luckily ended his Days there. General *Wills*, on these Suppositions, proceeded with Caution, and caused the Hedges and Fields to be view'd, and the Ways laid open for his Cavalry to enter ; but finding the Hedges also clear, he concluded then the Enemy was fled, and expected that they had abandon'd the Town and all, and would endeavour by their long Marches to return to *Scotland*, tho' he thought it impossible for them to do it : But he was soon inform'd that they were retreated to the Town only, and that they resolv'd to receive him there with a resolute Countenance ; so he had nothing to do but to prepare for the Attack, which he went about immediately. Having advanced nearer the Town, he ordered his Troops to pass at a Gate which leads into the Fields which lie on the back
of

of the Town, and immediately spreading the Enclosures with the utmost Expedition and Diligence, so disposed of his Forces as best to be able both to attack them in the Town, and to prevent them from Sallying or making a Retreat.

During this time, the Rebels were not idle in the Town, nor did they appear in the least discourag'd; but applied themselves resolutely to their Business; barricadoing the Streets, and posting their Men in the Streets, by-Lanes, and Houses, to the greatest Advantage, for all Events. The Gentlemen-Voluntiers were drawn up in the Church-yard, under the Command of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Wintoun* and *Nithsdale*. The Earl of *Derwentwater* signally behav'd, having stript into his Waistcoat, and encouraged the Men; by giving them Money to cast up Trenches, and animating them to a vigorous Defence of them: When he had so done, he order'd Mr. *Patten* to bring him constantly an Account from all the Attacks, how things went, and where Succours were wanted; which Mr. *Patten* did, till his Horse was shot under him. The Rebels formed four main Barriers; one a little below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*; the Gentlemen in the Church-yard were to support that Barrier in particular, and Lord *Charles Murray* that which was at the end of a Lane leading to the Fields: The third Barrier was called the Windmill; this was commanded by Colonel *Mackintosh*: And the fourth was in the Street which leads towards *Liverpool*, commanded by Major *Miller* and Mr. *Douglas*. The three former were all attack'd with great Fury by his Majesty's Forces: The first Attack was made upon that Barrier below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*; but they met with such a Reception, and so terrible a Fire was made upon them; as well from the Barricado as from the Houses on both Sides, that they were obliged to retreat back

to the Entrance of the Town. During the Heat of this Action, some of *Preston's* Officers being inform'd that the Street leading to *Wigan* was not barricado'd, and that the Houses were not possess'd on that side, they presently entered that Street with great Bravery, pushing all before them. *Preston's* Regiment of Foot were commanded upon this Service, supported by *Honeywood's* Dragoons. It is true, the Rebels had at first taken Possession of that Street, and posted Men in the Houses on both Sides; but were, against their Inclination, called off to other Service; nor were they left, as some desir'd, to post themselves at the extremest Ends of the Town, even at that End which leads to the Bridge, where the first and hottest Attack was made. Several Houses were left, particularly one which belonged to Sir *Henry Haughton*: Captain *Innis* with Fifty Highlanders had taken Possession of this House; and had he been allowed to have continued there, he would have given a good Account of it; but he being obliged to leave that Post, some of *Preston's* Men got Possession of that too, tho' it cost them dear, for many of their Men were kill'd there from other Houses. It is a high House, over-looking the whole Town: There was also another House opposite to it, which they entered, and posted several of their Men in it. And from these two House came almost all the Loss the Rebels sustained during the Action. Mr. *Forster* cannot be blamed for this Oversight, but it must be charged upon the Brigadier, who, when the Regiment of *Preston's* Foot made this brave and bold Attack and Attempt, withdrew his Men from those Houses. The Attack was thus, *Preston's* Men, led by their Lieutenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester*, did not come up the Head of the Street, but marched into a straight Passage behind the Houses, and then made a Halt till their Lieutenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester*

refter came into the open Street with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and faced *Mackintosh's* Barrier, looking up the Street and down the Street, and viewing how they were posted. There were many Shots fired at him, but he returned to his Men, and came up again at the Head of them into the Middle of the Street, where he caused some to face the Barricade where the Brigadier was posted, and ply them with their Shot, at the same time commanding another Party to march cross the Streets, to take Possession of those Houses. It was a very desperate Attempt, and shews him an Officer of an undaunted Courage. Whilst this was doing, the Rebels from the Barrier, and from the Houses on both sides, made a terrible Fire upon them, and a great many of that old and gallant Regiment were kill'd and wounded : The Lord *Forrester* received several Wounds himself. Besides the Damage they received on that side, they were sore galled from some Windows below them, by Captain *Douglass* and Captain *Hunter's* Men. *Preston's* Foot fired smartly upon the Rebels, but did little Execution, the Men being generally cover'd from the Shot, and delivering their own Shot securely, and with good Aim ; yet some were kill'd, and some also wounded, particularly two very gallant Gentlemen were wounded here, and both dy'd of their Wounds ; the one was Captain *Peter Farquharson* of *Rochdaley*, a Gentleman of an invincible Spirit, and almost inimitable Bravery. This Gentleman being shot through the Bone of his Leg, endured a great deal of Torture in the Operation of the Surgeon. When he was first brought into the Inn call'd the *White-Bull*, the House where all the wounded Men were carry'd to be dress'd, he took a Glas of Brandy, and said, *Come, Lads, here is our Master's Health ; tho' I can do no more, I wish you good Success.* His Leg was cut off by an unskilful Butcher, rather than a Surgeon, and he

presently

presently died. The other Gentleman was Mr. *Clifton*, Brother to Sir *Jervas Clifton*; he was also a gallant and thoroughly accomplished Gentleman; he received a Shot in his Knee, of which he died some Hours after. There was another Gentleman call'd Colonel *Brereton*, who had formerly serv'd in the Army; he had many Wounds, one of which, by the vast Flux of Blood, was not discover'd soon enough by his Surgeon, or else it's thought he might have out-liv'd his Fate that Day: After he was bury'd, he was taken out of his Grave, to satisfy the Curiosity of a Commanding Officer, who could not be persuaded that this Gentleman was in the Rebellion.

The next Barrier which was attack'd, was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*: He behav'd very gallantly, but being very vigorously attack'd, wanted Men, and order'd Mr. *Patten* to acquaint the Earl of *Derwentwater* therewith; who immediately sent back Mr. *Patten* with Fifty Gentlemen Volunteers from the Church-yard to reinforce him, who came in very good Season. Immediately Mr. *Patten* was order'd over the Barrier to view the King's Forces, who appearing in a Clergyman's Habit, was not suspected, nor fired on. He soon returned back, and gave Lord *Charles* an Account, that by what he saw, they were resolv'd to attack him again; whereupon Lord *Charles* gave Orders to his Men to be ready to receive them; and accordingly they came on very furiously: And tho' the King's Forces that made this Attack, were, for the most part, raw, new-listed Men, and seem'd unwilling to fight; yet the Bravery and good Conduct of experienc'd Officers supply'd very much that Defect. However, Lord *Charles Murray* maintain'd the Post, and oblig'd them to retreat with Loss; nor, had they been all old Soldiers, could they have beaten Lord *Charles* from that Barrier, which was very strong; the

the Number they had slain from the Barn-holes and Barrier itself added very much, so that at last the Officers themselves thought fit to give it over. And however some, in their dying Speeches afterwards, were pleas'd to lessen the Bravery of the King's Forces; this may be offered in Answer, That notwithstanding the Aspersions we all know that he that publickly display'd it, could not be a Judge of the Fact; for no Body ever saw him at any Post of Danger himself. On the contrary, the Author hereof, who was an Eye-witness to the Three Attacks, can assure the World, he saw that very Gentleman who left that Aspersions in his *Dying Speech*, placed very securely out of all Danger, in an Ale-house, where, he was assur'd, he remain'd during the whole Action.

Hitherto the Rebels seem'd to have had some Advantage, having repulsed the King's Forces in all their Attacks, and maintained all their Posts; and Night drawing on, no new Action happen'd; but during all this time, and all *Saturday-Night* and *Sunday*, and good part of that Night, the King's Forces kept incessantly Plattoons firing upon the Rebels from Sir *Henry Haughton's* and Mr. *Ayre's* Houses. It's true, they kill'd but very few; those of Note were, one Mr. *Hume* a Cornet, one Mr. *Scattery*, and a Highland Gentleman belonging to the Lord *Nairn*. There were several Houses and Barns set on fire by both Parties, both for covering themselves among the Smoak, and dislodging Men; so that if the Wind had blown almost from any quarter, that Town had been burnt to the Ground, and the Rebels had been burnt to Ashes in it. I shall, as I design'd, impartially hint at all the Mistakes on both Sides; and this was one, the King's General had order'd Illuminations to be set in all the Windows of the Houses where they had Possession, which, as long as they continued burning, exposed

the Rebels that were crossing the Streets upon all Occasions, to the plain View of those possessed of the Houses aforesaid, and gave them a good Aim at their Mark. This was the Occasion of the Death of some, and Wounds of others, even on both Sides ; so that after a short time, Orders were given for some to go to all the Houses, and call aloud to the People to put out their Candles. Which being shouted aloud (as is said) in the Streets, for the People had shut all their Doors, they mistook the Command, and instead of putting out or extinguishing their Lights, set up more ; which amused both Sides, but did no harm to either.

The third Attack was at the Windmill in the Street which leads to *Lancaster*, where the Barrier was defended by near 300 Men, under the Command of Mr. *Mackintosh*, who, with his Men, behaved very boldly, and made a dreadful Fire upon the King's Forces, killing many on the spot, and obliging them to make a Retreat ; which, however, they did very handsomely. This was owing to the common Men, who were but new listed ; though the Officers and old Soldiers behav'd themselves with great Bravery. After this, the Rebels began to see their Error, by being impos'd on to give Credit to the many Falshoods told them, of which this was one. That they might be assured that the King's Forces would all come over to them : Yet not one Man offer'd to do so ; for of several private Men made Prisoners, being wounded, not one of them would listen to the Offers made to Enlist, but chose rather to be shut up in close Prison, than to forsake their King and Country's Cause. One private Man belonging to Brigadier *Preston's* Foot, that was wounded, and laid in Bed with two others, when Mr. *Patten* went to that Bed where they were, which was at the *White Bull*, having asked them several Questions, told them he was ready to pray with them,

them, as he was a Clergyman; that Soldier above-mentioned answered, *If you be a Protestant, we desire your Prayers, but name not the Pretender as King.* A sufficient Demonstration that the common Imposition was false; and a very sure Sign that King GEORGE'S Forces were not merely Mercenary. Nay, Major *Preston* and Captain *Ogleby*, as well as several common Soldiers that were made Prisoners, being wounded, assured us, that not one Man belonging to the King's Forces but would die in their Country's Cause; and told us we could not be able to hold out, for that more Forces were also coming from all Quarters; they inform'd us of the Arrival of General *Carpenter* with three Regiments of Dragoons to surround us.

This brave General, after his long, troublesome, and dismal Marches after the Rebels, had very much weary'd his Men, but more the Horses, for want of good Forage, returned to *Newcastle*, having Intelligence that the Rebels were gone over the Mountains to join *Mar*, which was impracticable for his heavy Horse. Having scarce refreshed himself, he had an Express from Sir *Henry Haughton*, that the Rebels were marching towards *Lancaster*. Upon which, with all imaginary Speed, over high Mountains and deep Ways, he at last came to *Clithero*, a Town 12 Miles from *Preston*, on *Saturday* Night that the Action was begun. Whilst he was here, he receiv'd another Express from Sir *Henry Haughton* of all the Affair; which made him use his wonted Vigilance to have the Horses taken care of, so that they might be able early in the Morning to hasten towards *Preston*; which they performed with the greatest Expedition, for they came before *Preston* betwixt Nine and Ten on *Sunday* Morning. The Prisoners acquainted us likewise with the Dispositions he had taken; and the Alterations he had made in the Posts, to prevent our Escape.

And now our People began to open their Eyes, and to see that there was nothing but present Death before them, if they held out longer ; and that there was no Remedy, but, if possible, to make Terms, and get a Capitulation for Life, and lay down their Arms. But of this, it is necessary that a gradual Account be given in the Order in which it happen'd ; for it was not all done in a Moment.

General *Carpenter*, I say, was now arriv'd with *Cburchill's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Cobham's* Dragoons, and a great many Gentlemen of the Country with him, as the Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Lumley*, Colonel *Darcy*, and others.

The General having an Account from General *Wills* of what had pass'd, approved very well of what had been dorie, but found it necessary to make some small Alterations in the Dispositions of the Troops: He found three Attacks had been made, though not with the desir'd Success, and yet that the Rebels would be forced to surrender at last, or be taken Sword in Hand.

Here it is necessary to observe, as part of the Reason why the first Attack was not immediately successful, viz. because of the Barricado's and Cannon which the Rebels were possessed of. But by the way, I must observe, that the Rebels, though they had six Pieces of Cannon, did not much use them, except at first only ; in short, they knew not how, having no Engineers among them ; and a Seaman who pretended Judgment, and upon his own Offer took the Management of the Cannon at the Brigadier's Barricado, acted so madly, whether it was that he had too little Judgment, or too much Ale, or perhaps both, that in levelling one of the Pieces to cut off *Preston's* Foot, who advanc'd to attack us, the Ball brought down the Top of a Chimney. It is true, the next he fired did Execution, and oblig'd the Regiment to halt, though upon all Occasions

casions they behav'd with a great deal of Bravery and Order. But this by the way. Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* was, as I have said, now arriv'd, and had view'd the Posts and the Situation of the Rebels; and finding most part of the Horse and Dragoons of the King's Troops posted on one side of the Town, very incommodiouly on many Accounts, being crouded in a deep narrow Lane near the End of the Town, and besides that, so inconvenient for the Service, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in the Front, he brought them off in Parties to several other Places. Also, going to view the Ground towards the River, he found, to his great Surprize, that no Troops were posted at the End of *Fishergate-street*, to block up that part of the Town; and that for want of it, several of the Rebels had escaped there, and more rid off that Way even before his Face. This Street leads to a Marsh or Meadow which runs down to that part of the River *Ribble* where there are two good Fords, being the High-way towards *Liverpool*. At the upper End of this Street there was another Barricade, with two Pieces of Cannon, (as is already said :) But no Attack had been made on this Side; nor indeed could it be so, the few Troops consider'd. Here the Lieutenant-General order'd Colonel *Pitt* to post his two Squadrons of Horse, and extend themselves into that Marsh, in order to prevent any more escaping that Way; as it effectually did; for some bold Fellows attempting to escape after this, were all cut to Pieces by the Horse: Also the General caus'd a Communication to be open'd through the Inclosures on that Side, that his Post might be relieved, in case the whole Body should attempt to force their Retreat that Way, as it was given out they would, and as indeed they might have done; but they had no such good Measures in their Heads.

The Rebels being thus invest'd on all Sides, so that they found themselves entirely block'd up, and being now sensible, tho' too late, of their Condition, and also that they were short of Powder for an obstinate Resistance, began to consider what to do. The Highlanders were for falling out upon the King's Forces, and dying, as they call'd it, like Men of Honour, with their Swords in their Hands ; but they were over-rul'd, and were not allow'd to stir : Nor was the Motion communicated to the whole Body ; but General *Forster*, prevail'd upon by my Lord *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and some few Others, resolv'd upon a Capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good Terms from the King's Officers. Colonel *Oxburgh* pretending Acquaintance with some of the Officers, made an Offer to go out and treat of a Surrender.

As this was done without the Knowledge of the Rebel Army, the Common Soldiers were told that General *Wills* had sent to offer honourable Terms to them, if they would lay down their Arms ; so blinded were we with their Tory Lies to the last ; But certain it is, that Gentleman, had his Design been known, had never seen *Tyburn*, for he had been shot dead by the Consent of all the Common Men, before he had gone out of the Barrier. However, go he did, and made such a Bargain for them, as the Circumstances of Things might easily tell them they could expect no other ; and which, had not the Gentlemen thus abandon'd them, the Soldiers would not have yielded to. But be that as it will, he went with the Trumpet to the General, who allow'd him to come and go freely ; but told him, They might expect no other Terms, than to lay down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion. The Colonel, to give him his due, urg'd all the Arguments he could for better Terms ; but was told, That they must submit to the King's Mercy,
there

there was no other Terms could be made with them. The General told Colonel *Oxburgh*, He knew that in the Case of a Rebellion reduced, it was not rational to expect, or usual to give other Terms. The Colonel coming back with this Answer, a second Message was sent out by Captain *Dalziel*, to desire Time to consider of it. About Three in the Afternoon, Colonel *Cotton*, with a Dragoon, and a Drum beating a Chamade before them, came up the Street from the King's General: The Colonel alighted at the Sign of the *Mitre*, where the Chief of the Rebel-Officers were got together, and told them he came to receive their positive Answer. 'Twas told him, There were Disputes betwixt the *English* and *Scots*, that would obstruct the Yielding, which Others were willing to submit to; but if the General would grant them a Cessation of Arms till the next Morning at Seven, they should be able to settle the Matter, and that the Gentlemen promised they would then submit. Colonel *Cotton* sent the Drum to beat a Chamade before the Doors of some Houses where the King's Men continued firing, to cause them to cease, on account of the Cessation which was agreed to, and to order them to withhold till they had Notice from the General; but the poor Fellow was shot dead upon his Horse as he was beating his Drum. It is said this was not done by the King's Men, (for they must needs know him to be one of their own Drums, by his Livery and Mounting) but that it was done by some of the Rebels who were averse to all Thoughts of Surrender.

And here, because the Rebels and their Friends have given it out since, that they had such Terms granted them at this short Treaty which would secure their Lives, and that the Terms of Surrender ought so to be understood, I shall give you a true and faithful Account of the Capitulation itself, with

its Circumstances, as it was given upon Oath by General *Wills* himself at the Lords Bar at the Earl of *Wintoun's* Trial: The General there declared, " That having the Honour to command his Majesty's Troops that attack'd the Rebels at *Preston*, " he came before that Town on the 12th of *November* last about One o'Clock, and order'd two " Attacks upon the Town; the Attack which led " to *Wigan* being commanded by Brigadier *Honeywood*, who beat the Rebels from their first Barricade, and took Possession of some of the Houses in the Town; the other Attack which led to " *Lancaster*, under the Command of Brigadier *Dormer*, who lodg'd his Troops nigh the Barricade " of the Rebels. The next Day about Two of the " Clock Mr. *Forster* sent out one Mr. *Oxburgh* an " *Irishman*, offering to lay down their Arms and " submit themselves, and hoped this Deponent " would recommend them to the King's Mercy, " Which this Deponent refused, and told him, he " would not treat with Rebels, for that they had " kill'd several of the King's Subjects, and they " must expect to undergo the same Fate. That " upon this *Oxburgh* said, That as this Deponent " was a Man of Honour and an Officer, he hoped " he would shew Mercy to People that were willing to submit. Upon this the Deponent said, " All he would do for them was, That if they laid " down their Arms, and submitted Prisoners at " Discretion, he would prevent the Soldiers from " cutting them in Pieces till he had farther Orders; " and that he would give them but an Hour to " consider of it. That he sent *Oxburgh* back into " the Town to acquaint *Forster* of it; and before " the Hour was expired they sent out Mr. *Dalziel*, " Brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who wanted " Terms for the *Scots*. That this Deponent's Answer was, That he would not treat with Rebels, " nor

“ nor give them any other Terms than what he had
 “ before offered them. Upon which it was desired
 “ that this Deponent would grant farther Time,
 “ till Seven o’Clock next Day, to consult the best
 “ Method of delivering themselves up. That this
 “ Deponent agreed to grant them the Time desired,
 “ provided they threw up no new Intrenchments
 “ in the Streets, nor suffered any of their
 “ People to escape, and that they sent out the Chief
 “ of the *English* and *Scotch* as Hostages for the Performance: And this Deponent sent in Colonel
 “ *Cotton* to bring them out; who brought out the
 “ Earl of *Derwentwater* and Mr. *Mackintosh*. That
 “ the next Day, about Seven o’Clock, Mr. *Forster*
 “ sent out to let this Deponent know that they
 “ were willing to give themselves up Prisoners at
 “ Discretion, as he had demanded. That Mr. *Mackintosh*
 “ being by when the Message was brought, said,
 “ He could not answer that the *Scotch* would
 “ surrender in that manner, for that the *Scots* were
 “ People of desperate Fortunes, and that he had
 “ been a Soldier himself, and knew what it was to
 “ be a Prisoner at Discretion. That upon this the
 “ Deponent said, Go back to your People again,
 “ and I will attack the Town, and the Consequence
 “ will be, I will not spare one Man of you. That
 “ *Mackintosh* went back, but came running out immediately
 “ again, and said, That the Lord *Kennemure*,
 “ and the rest of the Noblemen, with his
 “ Brother, would surrender in like manner with
 “ the *English*.

General *Wills* farther deposed, “ That when the
 “ Attack was made by the King’s Forces, between
 “ 60 and 70 Men were kill’d; and that there were
 “ kill’d and wounded about 130. And being ask’d
 “ by the Attorney-General whether he gave the
 “ Rebels any Encouragement to hope for Mercy?
 “ he again declared, That all the Terms he gave
 “ them

“ them was, that he would save their Lives from
 “ the Soldiers till farther Orders, if they surren-
 “ der’d at Discretion ; (the Meaning of which was,
 “ That by the Rules of War it was in his Power
 “ to cut them all to Pieces, but he would give them
 “ their Lives till farther Order ;) and if they did
 “ not comply, he would renew the Attack, and
 “ not spare a Man,

This Deposition was confirmed by Colonel
Churchill, Colonel *Cotton*, and Brigadier *Munden*.
 Besides this, I can assure the World that I heard the
 Answer which Colonel *Cotton*, whilst he was at the
Mitre, gave to a Gentleman among the Rebels,
 who ask’d if they might have Mercy? he told him,
Sir, that I cannot assure you of, but I know the King
to be a very merciful Prince ; and that then he de-
 manded of all the Noblemen and Gentlemen to give
 their Parole of Honour to perform what they on
 their Part promised,

Having thus set this Matter in a clear Light, I
 shall now give a farther Account of what happen’d
 in the Town : The common Men were one and all
 against capitulating, and were terribly enrag’d when
 they were told of it, declaring that they would die
 fighting ; and that when they could defend their
 Posts no longer, they would force their way out,
 and make a Retreat. It is true this might have been
 attempted, and perhaps many would have escap’d ;
 but it could not have been perform’d without the
 Loss of a great deal of Blood, and that on both
 Sides ; and it was told them that it would be so,
 and that if they did get out, they would be cut off
 by the Country People : But their Madness was
 such, that nothing could quiet them for a great
 while ; and it was astonishing to see the Confusion
 the Town was in, threatening one another, nay kil-
 ling one another but for naming a Surrender ; one
 was

was shot dead, and several wounded. In this Dilemma many exclaim'd against Mr. *Forster*, and had he appear'd in the Street he would certainly have been cut to Pieces ; but as he did not appear publickly, yet he had been actually kill'd in his Chamber by Mr. *Murray*, had not I with my Hand struck up the Pistol with which he fired at him, so that the Bullet went thro' the Wainscot into the Wall of the Room. And since I mention Mr. *Forster*, I cannot but justify him against the many Aspersions he lies under in this Part of the Action, I mean, as a *Coward*. It must be own'd he was no Soldier, nor was the Command given to him as such, but as he was the only Protestant who could give Repute to their Undertaking, being of Note in *Northumberland*, of an ancient Family, and having for several Years been Member of Parliament for that County, and therefore very popular : For if the Command had been given to either of the two Lords, their Characters, as Papists, would have discouraged many of the People, and been improved against the Design in general. As to Matters of Conduct, Mr. *Forster*, tho' he was call'd General, yet he always submitted to the Counsel of Colonel *Oxburgh*, who was formerly a Soldier, and had obtain'd a great Reputation ; tho' it is manifest in our Case that he either wanted Conduct or Courage, or perhaps both : He was better at his Beads and Prayers than at his Business as a Soldier ; and we all thought him fitter for a Priest than a Field Officer. It must be own'd he was very devout in his Religion, and that is all the Good we can say of him ; and that Devotion he has since had great occasion for in another Place. Besides the Influence of Colonel *Oxburgh*, my Lord *Widdrington* had too great Prevalency over Mr. *Forster's* easy Temper ; and this Lord we thought understood so little of the Matter, that he was as unfit for a General as the other ; for tho' the Family of
Widdrington

Widdrington be fam'd in History for their Bravery and Loyalty to the *English* Crown, yet there is little of it left in this Lord, or at least he did not shew it, that ever we could find, unless it consisted in his early Persuasions to surrender; for he was never seen at any Barrier, or in any Action but where there was the least Hazard. He was wonderfully esteem'd at Home by all the Gentlemen of the County, and it had been happy for him, and so we thought it would have been better for us (the Rebels) if he had stay'd at Home. I heard a Gentleman say, "He was vex'd to be under the Command of an Officer that could not travel without strong Soup in a Bottle; for his Officer never wanted strong Broth wherever he came, both before and after he was Prisoner". An Account of his Family is inserted in the *Appendix*.

But to return to Mr. *Forster*: He shew'd several times Forwardness enough for Action, and particularly that he was very far from being a Coward, by his riding up to *Mackintosh's* Barrier twice, in the very Face of the King's Troops; and when he was exposed to the Shot of those possessed of the Houses on both Sides of the Street, where I heard him command the Brigadier to advance without the Baricado, and make a Sally; which he positively refused. What Reason he gave I know not; Mr. *Forster*, however, warmly told him, He would have him try'd by a Court-Martial, if he out-liv'd the Service of the Day, and if ever his King came; This occasioned the Grudge which still continued betwixt them even in *Newgate*. The Brigadier has got the Character of Brave and Bold: He has given signal Instances thereof beyond Seas; but we all must say, we saw very little of it at *Preston*. Another Scandal upon Mr. *Forster*, is, That he betray'd them to the King's Troops: And this I must needs observe to be a very evident Slander, and was set
on

on Foot here by a Party, who did not do it so much to injure Mr. *Forster*, as with another and baser Design, viz. that by having this credited, they might blast the Reputation of the Commanding Officers of his Majesty's Troops, and of the Troops themselves; also suggesting, that if the Rebels had not been sold, the King's Forces could not have reduced them; and also, that if they had not been sure of *Forster*, they would have given better Terms to them when they did submit. The contrary appears by the Usage Mr. *Forster* had receiv'd afterwards when a Prisoner; which tho' it may be said it was good enough for a Rebel, yet will make it evident that he was no way favoured, as shall appear farther hereafter. The same People who contrived the first Story, have added at last, when he made his Escape, that it was by Concert from the Government; as if the King would agree to such a mean Piece of Policy, as rather to wink at his Escape, than to give him a Pardon; a thing which could not lie hid long without being discovered, because several must be concerned, nay, common Servants, Turnkeys, &c. must have their Share in such a Design. After all, if the Truth was known, or when the Truth shall be known, it may perhaps appear that it was contrived and procured by the Tory Party, among whom there were many, doubtless, who were afraid he would Squeak, and make some concern'd in Contributions, and Under-hand Assistances in the Rebellion, be brought to Justice. I conclude his Case with saying, that after several Affronts which he receiv'd, and the Calumnies he lies under for submitting, yet we soon found they all came in to his Measures, and tamely submitted at Discretion. Thus they were all made Prisoners next Morning at Seven, being the 14th of *November*, and being disarmed, were all at once put into the Power of the King's Troops. And here it may not be improper

to observe what a fatal Day the 13th of *November* proved to the *Pretender* and his Friends. For as *Preston* was taken, and the Rebels in *England* surrender'd to the King's Troops in *Lancashire*; so the Battle of *Dumblain*, as it was called here, or of *Sheriff-Moor*, as in *Scotland*, was fought and lost in *Scotland* by the Earl of *Mar*. And to add to the Remark, in the North of *Scotland*, the Town of *Inverness* was retaken by the good Conduct of the Lord *Lovat*, and the House of *Grant*, and their Assistants: So that this Day seem'd to determine the Fate of the *Pretender*. But I return to the Account of the Surrender at *Preston*. Before the appointed Hour came, several of the King's Forces entred that part of the Town which the Rebels held, and began to plunder, looking upon what they got their own, by Rule of War. But Complaint being made, they were stopp'd for some time. At last the two Generals entred the Town in Form, at the Head of the Troops; one Party under General *Wills*, entred at that End which leads to *Lancaster*; Brigadier *Honeywood* at the Head of the remaining Part of the Troops, entred at that End which leads to *Manchester*. They came in with Sound of Trumpets and Beat of Drums, both Parties meeting at the Market-Place. Here the Highlanders stood drawn up with their Arms; the Lords, Gentlemen, and Officers were first secured, and placed under a Guard in several Rooms in the Inns, where they remained some time. The Highlanders laid down their Arms in the Place where they stood drawn up, and then were put into the Church under a sufficient Guard. When all was safe, by the Rebels being thus disarm'd and secured, General *Carpenter* seeing there would not be room enough in the Town for near the Number of Horse which were there, and considering the three Regiments that came with him had been extremely harass'd by above a Month's continual

continual long Marches, he, to preserve the Regiments, sent them the same Day to *Wigan*, there to rest a Day or two, and then move on by gentle Marches to their several Quarters; leaving the Care of the Prisoners to General *Wills*, who, tho' he was not the Commander in Chief, yet as he had been the first Manager of the Work, the General would not take from him any part of the Honour of the Victory, or lessen him upon any Account. It is true, it was the Misfortune of these two brave Generals to differ about some Punctilio's in this Case some time after, and that some would have it to be upon the Account of lessening one another in the Affair of *Preston*; yet I have been informed that Dispute was rather upon some other account, a former Misunderstanding having been between them when beyond Sea. But to let that fall, as not to our present Purpose. General *Carpenter*, as I have said, went off the 15th with the Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Lumley*, Colonel *Darcy*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, who having been now with him ten Days, had been very serviceable in procuring constant Intelligence of the Rebels, by the great Interest they have in that Country. The Slain on both Sides were buried, and then General *Wills* prepared to march: Those that were killed or wounded belonging to the King's Forces, were as follow; viz. the Wounded, Brigadier *Honeywood* received a Contusion on the Shoulder by a Musket-shot: Major *Bland* received a slight Wound in the Arm; his Horse was shot thro' the Neck: He is a brave and generous Officer, which all the Prisoners that were under his Command must gratefully acknowledge. Lord *Forrester*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Preston's* Regiment, had two or three Wounds: An Officer worthy the Command of good Soldiers. Major *Preston* was shot thro' the Body a little above the Breast, and taken Prisoner by Mr. *Wogan*: He was

was a Man of great Gallantry and compos'd Courage, as was visible by his exposing himself in the Danger and in the Manner he did, for he was spent in a long languishing Consumption, even to a Skeleton, and told us (the Rebels) That the Wound he received had only shortened his Days two or three Months, which seeing it was in the Service of his King and Country, he said he far preferr'd it to the lingring Death he expected. He died in our Hands. Captain *Ogleby* receiv'd a Wound in his Side ; the Bullet was lodg'd a good way in his Body, wrapt in part of his Scarf: He is a fine Gentleman, of a good Family in *Scotland*, and Son to the Lord *Ogleby*. He recover'd of his Wound. Major *Lawson* was likewise wounded ; and Brigadier *Dormer* had a Contusion in his Knee. There were three other Captains wounded, two Lieutenants, one Cornet and four Ensigns. Killed, three Captains, and one Ensign. There were a great many private Men of his Majesty's Forces kill'd ; how many it is hard to determine, but the Number has been esteem'd above 200, tho' the publick Lists say not so many.

Of the Rebels, there were 17 kill'd, and 25 wounded, and no more, for they were every where under Cover. I shall take notice of one that was kill'd, tho' a Person of no Note, yet he is not to be forgotten, seeing the Bravery of mean Persons ought not to be buried: He was a lame Man, and had the care of the Gunpowder, which he carried under him on a Horse from one Post to another. He was told that they wanted Powder at *Mackintosh's* Barrier ; but if he went, they told him he would certainly be shot. He answer'd, I know I cannot avoid that, if I go ; but since they want, if I cannot carry it quite up to them, I'll carry it as far as I can ; and so set forwards, and both he and his Horse were shot dead.

There

There were taken at *Preston* seven Lords, besides 1490 other, including the several Gentlemen, Officers, and private Men, and two Clergymen. There was a Popish Priest, called *Littleton*, among them: But having a great deal of the Jesuit, he contriv'd a most excellent Disguise; for he put on a Blue Apron, went behind an Apothecary's Counter, and passed for an Assistant or Journeyman to the Apothecary, and so took an Opportunity of getting off. He took care of his own Tabernacle, but left his Wafer Gods to be ridicul'd by the Soldiers.

The Rebels being thus made Prisoners, I shall add an Account how they were dispos'd of afterwards, which take as follows.

For the better preventing Escapes, they were order'd to several Places of Confinement: The Lords were secured in the most commodious Houses or Inns. The *Scotch* Officers and Gentry, divided into three Parties, were set under a Guard at the Sign of the *Mitre*, the *White-Bull*, and the *Wind-Mill*. The Highlanders and common Men were put into the Church, where they continued about a Month, the Town's People being obliged to find them Water and Bread; whilst they took what care of themselves they could, unripping all the Linings from the Seats or Pews, and making thereof Breeches and Hose to defend themselves from the Extremity of the Weather. Several of them were sent under Guard to *Wigan* the 23d of *November*, and afterwards sent to *Chester*, whilst others were sent to *Lancaster-Castle*, till their Trials came on; when some were found guilty, and executed, others transported by their own Choice, others acquitted, others repriev'd; and those untried, or repriev'd, continued as Objects of His Majesty's most gracious Clemency. A great many of the *Northumberland* and *Lancashire* Gentlemen were confin'd in Mr. *Wingleby's* House

*till Sunday the 21st, when a great part of the chief Officers, and all the Lords were sent to *Wigan*. The *Lancashire* Gentlemen followed them on Tuesday the 23d, and continued there till Thursday; when all of them being divided into four Parties, were sent under the Guard of several Detachments to *Warrington*. It will please the Reader, I hope, to hear what happen'd at *Wigan*: Whilst we were there, we were allow'd to go with Centinels to visit our Friends; so Brigadier *Mackintosh* took an Opportunity to pay his Respects to the Lords at their Quarters. Entering the Room where they and several Gentlemen were got together, the Lord *Widdrington* called to him, and desired him to sit by him. Which done, my Lord seeing a Gentleman ready to leave the Chamber, he said, *Cousin Tom, pray stay a little; for I have a mind to ask some Questions of the Brigadier*. And thus begun: *Brigadier, the Reason why I did not expose myself as I ought to have done, was owing to my Indisposition, occasion'd by the Gout: But pray, you that had been at the Head of your Men, and had view'd the Bridge over Ribble, why did you not defend it, being a Matter of no great Difficulty to have maintain'd that important Pass?* The Brigadier replied, *It was not maintainable, because the River was fordable at several Places*. Lord *Widdrington* asked him again, *Why he did not make his Barricade at the extreme End of the Street leading to the Town, which would have prevented the King's Forces from taking Possession of those Houses below his Barrier, which was a great way up the Town?* To this he answer'd, *My Lord, at the extreme End of the Town there were so many Lanes and Avenues, that to defend them would have required more Men than I had*. That Lord continued to demand of him, *Why he did not sally out himself with his Men? or why he would not obey Mr. Forster, who would have had the Horse to have sallied out?* To this he gave

Answer,

Answer, *That if his Foot had sallied out, they might by that means been parted from the Horse, and so left naked to have been cut off: Besides, nothing more frightens the Highlanders than Horse and Cannon. As for obeying Mr. Forster, in letting the Horse sally out, he said, If the Horse had attempted any such Thing, they would have gone through the Fire of his Men; for they were afraid the Horse design'd such a Thing, and would have been able to have made a Retreat, and left them pent up in the Town.* This Discourse ending, they parted without Shew of much Concern for the Loss of each other's Company. The Lord *Derwentwater* took little or no Notice of the Brigadier; but turn'd to a Gentleman in Company, and told him, *You see what we have brought ourselves to, by giving Credit to our Neighbour Tories, as Will. Fenwick, Tate, Green, and Allgood. If you out-live Misfortune, and return to live in the North, I desire you never to be seen to converse with such Rogues in Disguise, that promised to join us, and animated us to rise with them.* The Gentleman promised that Lord to obey him. But that Lord answer'd, *Ab! I know you to be of an easy Temper.* Having continued at *Warrington* all Night, they march'd forwards for *London* by easy Marches; nothing material happening, only a Detachment of *Stanhope's* Dragoons were ordered to return; and whilst we were marching over a Heath, one of the Highlanders told the Country People that came to view us, *Where are all your High-Church Tories? If they would not fight with us, why do they not come and rescue us?* Which indiscreet Words made the commanding Officer make him dismount, and walk on Foot pinion'd. These Detachments of Horse and Dragoons that guarded us, were relieved by a Squadron of *Lumley's* Horse, under the Command of Brigadier *Panton*, who look'd more nearly to us than we had been formerly. At

Davertry he singled Mr. *Forster* and me from among the rest, and confined us in the Guard-Room all Night (which was continued in all our Quarters till we came to *Newgate*) under a sufficient Watch, allowing none to speak with us.

Here I must relate how Mr. *Forster* catch'd Cold, by lying on the Ground in a Corner very damp, which indisposed him very much all along, so that at St. *Alban's* he was not able to ride, but was allowed a Coach. Upon this it was reported he had taken Poison. Which was very false; for Lieutenant *Bishop*, who had the Care of us, advised him to take a little *Diascordium*, which brought upon him a great Fit of Vomiting. From *Davertry* to *London*, he and I were distinguish'd from the rest, by our Halters being led by two Troopers, with Halters upon our Horses Heads; which gave the People, as we passed along, an Opportunity to compliment us with Encomiums upon a Warming-pan. At *Barnet* we were all pinion'd, more for Distinction than any Pain that attended: And at *Highgate* we were met with a strong Detachment of Horse-Grenadiers and Foot-Guards, each Man having his Horse led by one of the Foot. Setting forward from *Highgate*, we were met by such Numbers of People, that it is scarce conceivable to express, who with, *Long Live King GEORGE! and down with the Pretender!* ushered us throughout to our several Apartments. I shall add a very pleasant Story: A Quaker fix'd his Eyes upon me, and distinguishing what I was, said, *Friend, Verily thou hast been the Trumpeter of Rebellion to these Men; thou must answer for them.* Upon this, my Grenadier gave him a Push with the But-end of his Musket, so that the Spirit fell into the Ditch. Whilst sprawling on his Back, he told the Soldier, *Thou hast not us'd me civilly; I doubt thou art not a real Friend to King GEORGE.* Mr. *Forster* thought still to have

have been releas'd by a *Tory Mob*, and told me, that he had Assurances thereof from a Gentleman at *Highgate*. But those Bravadors will not hazard themselves, tho' they speak great Things. He was likewise troubled that he should be sent to *Newgate*, being unexpell'd the *House of Commons*; and likewise mortify'd, when he understood that *Gordon*, *Carr*, and *Dorrel* were executed a Day before, and their Quarters then in a Box just by, in order to be set upon the Gates; which spoiled his Stomach, so that he could not eat with his then unhappy Companion.

The Names of the Lords, Prisoners, are well known, viz.

James Radcliffe Earl of *Derwentwater*, Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, February 24. 1715-16.

William Widdrington Lord *Widdrington*.

William Maxwell Earl of *Nithsdale*, made his Escape out of the *Tower*, Feb. 23. 1715-16. dress'd in a Woman's Cloak and Hood, which since are called *Nithsdales*.

[These three were Papists.]

George Seaton Earl of *Wintoun*, made his Escape also out of the *Tower*, Aug. 4. 1716.

William Gordon Viscount *Kenmure*, Beheaded with Lord *Derwentwater*.

William Nairn Lord *Nairn*.

I shall here add a List of the rest in general, of those who were taken that were of any Note; which I should not do, it being so often published; but that it shall be done in a different manner, adding a short Account of so many as came within my Knowledge, as to their Circumstances, the Pains they bore, and what Kingdom, County, and Religion they were of, and the Fate that followed them.

Mr. *Thomas Forster* jun. of *Etherston* in the County of *Northumberland*, Protestant, Member of Parliament for the said County, was made General; Escaped out of *Newgate*. I shall here insert: On *Saturday, April 7. 1716*, a Bill of Indictment was found against him; he was to have been arraign'd, in order to his Trial, on the 14th of *April*; but on *Wednesday* Morning all were surpriz'd, to hear that he had found Means to make his Escape the Night before. Upon Notice of this, a Proclamation was publish'd for apprehending *Thomas Forster* Esq; with a Description of his Person, as one of a Middle-Stature, inclining to be Fat, well-shap'd, except that he stoops in the Shoulders, fair Complexion'd, his Mouth wide, his Nose pretty large, his Eyes Grey, speaks the Northern Dialect, with a Reward of a Thousand Pounds to any who should apprehend him. The Grand-Jury of *Middlesex* having enquir'd into the manner of his Escape, thought fit to present Mr. *Pitts* Keeper of *Newgate*, for a very high Neglect and Misdemeanor in his Office, who was afterwards committed to the Custody of a Messenger, and then brought to his Trial, where he made the manner of Mr. *Forster's* Escape appear: (He was acquitted.) Which is as follows. Mr. *Forster*, for some time after his Commitment to *Newgate*, was confin'd in a Chamber in the *Pres-yard*, but was removed into a strong Room in Mr. *Pitts's* House, as likewise Mr. *Anderton* to another. Mr. *Forster* hearing some-body upon the Stairs one Night, opened his Door, (being allowed the Liberty to walk in the *Pres-yard*) which was Mr. *Anderton*, whom he invited to come and take a Glass, 'till such time as they were lock'd up. Mr. *Pitts* entred the Room, and found them over a Flask of Wine; when it was something above half gone, Mr. *Forster* went up (as Mr. *Pitts* thought) to the Necessary-house; upon which his Heart mis-

gave

gave him, and therefore Mr. *Pitts* went up after Mr. *Forster*; but, to his great Surprise, found he was not there, and going down, he found the fall of the Latch deadned by a piece of Lift, and a Peg in the Kitchen-door, by which his Servant was confined; for Mr. *Forster's* Man being below Stairs, asked for some Small-beer. Whilst the Servant was drawing him some, he fix'd the Peg, and secured him. Mr. *Forster* left his Night-Gown upon the Steps. Mr. *Pitts* called out for his Man, but he could not get out; but finding the Peg, he pulled it out. Upon which he called aloud, *I am undone!* Forster is gone! then calling for the Key, there was another, a false one, in the other side of the Door, and the Door double-lock'd. Thus Mr. *Forster*, and his Man *Thomas Lee*, found Means to escape, leaving their Keeper a Prisoner.

Mr. *Edward Howard* Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, try'd and acquitted; a Papist.

Mr. *Charles Radcliffe* Brother to the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, try'd and found Guilty, and afterwards escaped out of *Newgate*, December 11. 1716. He lay under Condemnation.

Charles Widdrington Esq; Brother to the Lord *Widdrington* of *Northumberland*, Papist, pleaded Guilty. Since removed into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for a Pardon.

Per. Widdrington Esq; third Brother to this Lord, and *Aid de Camp* to General *Forster*, Papist: Removed out of *Newgate* into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for a Pardon.

Walter Tancred Brother to Sir *Thomas Tancred* of *Yorkshire*, Papist, pleaded Guilty. He was Companion to the Lord *Widdrington* in all his Country Diversions.

John Thornton of *Netherwitton* in *Northumberland*; has a good Estate there, pleaded Guilty; a Papist.

John Clavering, a Papist, of *Northumberland*. This Gentleman, by the Interest of my Lord Chancellor's Lady who is his Kinswoman, had a *Noli prosequi*.

John Clavering Brother to *William Clavering*, both Papists, in *Northumberland*.

Nicholas Wogan Captain, an *Irishman*, who for his generous Usage to Major *Preston* whom he made a Prisoner, is in a fair way of being pardon'd, being now removed from *Newgate* into the Custody of a Messenger: He stood his Trial, and was brought in Guilty of High-Treason. He is a Papist.

Charles Wogan an *Irishman*, behav'd very well at *Preston*; Mr. *Forster* called him his *Aid de Camp*: He made his Escape out of *Newgate*. He was a Papist.

John Talbot of *Cartington* in *Northumberland*, a brave young Gentleman; his Father made himself famous for his Courage at the Siege of *Buda*, but was killed: This Gentleman made his Escape from *Chester*.

Robert Talbot an *Irishman* and Papist, formerly an Officer in the *French Service*; he was accounted a very good Soldier: He was found Guilty of High-Treason.

Roger Salkeld of *Cumberland*, a Papist, second Son to Sir *Richard Salkeld* of *Whiteball* in the said County: He made his Escape from *Chester*.

George Collingwood of *Northumberland*, a Papist, of a valuable Estate: He was ordered for *London*, but was seiz'd with the Gout at *Wigan*, and from thence was carried to *Liverpool*, and there found Guilty, and afterwards Executed there the 25th of *February*. He was a very pious Gentleman, and well beloved in his Country.

John Hall: This Gentleman has been very unlucky the whole time of his Life; he was born to a handsome Estate in *North-Tine*, but his Indiscretion

tion and Forwardness reduced it to a low Ebb. He married a Gentlewoman of *Newcastle*, against the Consent of her Father Alderman *Hutchinson*. His Misfortunes, or unsettled Humour, made him shift from his own Seat to several other Places, as *Hexam* and the Borders of *Scotland*, where he farmed an Estate, and cultivated the same with a great deal of good Management; being skill'd in Husbandry, he had reap'd a very good Crop of all manner of Grain from this Farm, and had them well gather'd together into Barns and Stack-yards; but an unexpected Fire broke out, of which no Account can be given how, in the middle of the Night, and with Violence not to be conquer'd, consumed the House he lived in, all the Stables and Cow-houses, Barns, and Stacks of Corn, with the Oxen, Cows and Horses, himself and Family narrowly escaping. He return'd some time after to his own Estate, whither hard Fortune had pursued him; for having the Prospect of a plentiful Increase of Corn which he had got cut down, and near ready to get together, in the Night there fell such a Flood of Rain as carried all his Crop along with the over-flowing Stream. These two Misfortunes were look'd upon as Judgments upon him, for being concern'd, if not accessory, to the Death of two Gentlemen, which was thus: At *Newcastle upon Tyne* there happen'd a Quarrel betwixt Mr. *Septimus Forster* Member of Parliament for the County of *Northumberland*, and one Mr. *Fenwick*: Mr. *Hall* was made privy to the Quarrel, and acquainted with their Resolution to fight; which he might have prevented: But Mr. *Fenwick* espying Mr. *Forster* in the Street, without being hinder'd by Mr. *Hall*, went with haste to the other, and both drawing their Swords, Mr. *Forster*, who was generally esteem'd, was run through the Body, and instantly died: The other was apprehended, and presently brought to his Trial, the

Judges

Judges being then in Town, found guilty of Wilful Murder, and executed where he committed the Fact. Mr. *Hall* has been blamed for this by a great many People: If he was any way accessory, it seems the two mentioned strange Fates that attended these worthy Gentlemens Deaths, shewed a pursuing Judgment. When Mr. *Fenwick* was try'd, he appear'd as an Evidence for him; but it was little regarded by the Jury, and he met with a severe Reprimand from the Judge. By what Interest, some Years after this, he came to be in the Commission of the Peace, and an Officer of the Train'd-bands, I shall not hint; but, to shew the Indiscretion of the Man, I must inform you, that when he was sitting upon the Bench at the Quarter-Sessions held for the County at *Alnwick*, all on a sudden he left his Brethren the Justices in such Precipitation, that he left his Hat, but got it again, and with haste went to the Rebels, desiring Mr. *Forster* to go and seize on the Justices, and the County Clerk and his Books; which was refused. He was never much esteemed by the commanding Rebels, being known to be of a fierce and passionate Temper, which got him the Name of *Mad Jack Hall of Otterbourn*. Thus you see that Fate never left him till she pursued him to his untimely Death, where he denied his Faith, and made a strange Exit. He has left Children born to him by his virtuous good Wife of very good Parentage, and no small Fortune.

John Hunter a Farmer at *Callylee* in *Northumberland*, reputed very rich; he made his Escape,
Edward Ord.

William Tunstall Pay-Master General and Quarter-Master General, a *Yorkshire* Man, second Son to a Gentleman of that County, of a plentiful Estate. He has had all the Advantages of a generous Education, which he has improved by his good and agreeable Conversation and Learning; for he made several
Copies

Copies of Verses after he was a Prisoner, which gain'd Applause from good Judges of Poetry : They shew the Man, tho' Old, and under Sentence of Death, not to despond ; and it is hoped he will receive his Majesty's Pardon. He is a Papist.

William Shastoe of Bavington, formerly a Justice of Peace for the County of Northumberland ; has a plentiful Estate : There he was brought in to the Rebellion through the Instigation of his Lady, and Mr. John Shastoe who was shot at Preston. He was once a Papist, but returned to the Church of England. He is a Gentleman of an easy Temper, and so too easily prevail'd with to join in the Rebellion. I shall add a Story of him, when in Newgate with Mr. John Hall, who was afterward Executed, which has something diverting in it. He says seriously to Mr. Hall, Cousin Jack, I am thinking on what is told us, That God will visit the Sins of the Fathers unto the third and fourth Generation. I am of Opinion that it is so with us ; for your Grandfather and mine got most of their Estates as Sequestrators, and now we must lose them again for being Rebels.

John Shastoe his Son, a Papist : He was but lately come from beyond Sea. He is a most violent Bigot to his Faith ; was formerly Page to the Duke of Wolfenbottle.

Edward Shastoe, an old Grey-headed Gentleman, Father to John Shastoe shot at Preston as an Half-pay Officer. This old Man became an Evidence for the King at Liverpool and London.

John Shastoe Captain, shot, as mentioned before : He was made early acquainted with the Rebellion, and would have saved his Life by Impeaching others, but was too far from the Court to have his Mind known : This would have been of good Service. He died very Penitent.

Edward

Edward Swinbourn and *James Swinbourn*, both of them Papists, and Brothers to Sir *William* of *Caph-eaton*; both found Guilty. The former a very handsome Gentleman, and of good Parts; dy'd in *Newgate*. The other, thro' long Confinement, or, as some alledge, an hereditary Distemper, which some of that Family have been subject to, became Pensive and Melancholy.

George Gibson of *Stonecroft*, *Northumberland*, a Papist: A Gentleman well belov'd in his Country. Dy'd in *Newgate*.

Edward Byras of *Northumberland*, belonged to Lord *Widdrington's* Troop, made his Escape on the Road to *London*.

Richard Stokoe, formerly in the *Scots* Grey Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Quarter-Master in the Earl of *Derwentwater's* Troop. He lived in *Northumberland*; a Protestant. He was taken out of the *Fleet*, and put into the Custody of one of the King's Messengers, in order to become an Evidence, but made his Escape.

Richard Chorley of *Chorley* in *Lancashire*, a Papist: A Gentleman of singular Piety and Parts, was order'd for *London*; but falling sick at *Wigan*, was left behind, and was try'd at *Liverpool*, found Guilty, and Executed at *Preston*, February 9. 1715-16.

Charles Chorley Son to *Richard Chorley*, was a young Gentleman of very good Parts, was try'd at *Liverpool*, found Guilty; but died in Goal.

Ralph Standish of *Standish*, a Papist in *Lancashire*, a Gentleman of very good Repute; having a plentiful Fortune, marry'd into the Duke of *Norfolk's* Family: He was found Guilty of High-Treason at *Westminster*: since removed into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for a Pardon.

Sir *Francis Anderton* of *Lofstock*, a Papist of *Lancashire*: He has an Estate of 2000 *l. per Annum*.
He

He was Indicted as a Baronet ; but he pleaded that false, because his Elder Brother, a Popish Priest beyond Sea, was alive. He was afterwards found Guilty, and received Sentence. This Gentleman is of pleasant and diverting Conversation : He is reported to say, He lost a good Estate for being with the Rebels but One Day. Taken out of *Newgate* into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for a Pardon.

Dr. *Walker*, alias *Alcock*, Physician, skill'd in that Practice. A little before the Rebellion broke out, on a Rejoicing-Day, he made an Entertainment for his Friends at his Chamber in *Alnwick* ; but becoming somewhat overtaken with Liquor, instead of Loyal Words, he spoke some that amounted to Treason. He was afterwards call'd to answer for his Expressions, but he put in Bail for his Appearance ; tho' he did not think convenient to stay till the Assizes, but absconded, and joined the Rebels. Being of a frank and comical Disposition, he told his Rebel Friends, *That his Bail should not suffer ; for he would write to the Judge, that he was now at Hexam, ready to pay his Fine.* He made his Escape from *Preston*.

Richard Townley of *Townley*, a Papist in *Lancashire* ; he marry'd Lord *Widdrington's* Sister. This Gentleman's Servants were found Guilty of High-Treason, for being in the Rebellion with their Master, and some of them afterwards Executed in *Lancashire* ; but he was Acquitted by the Jury at the *Marshalsea*. After which, endeavouring to go beyond Sea, he was retaken into Custody, but soon discharged.

John Dalton a Papist of *Lancashire*, of a good Estate, was try'd at the *Marshalsea*, and found Guilty. Since removed into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for his Pardon.

John Leybourn a Papist, *Lancashire*.

Gabriel

Gabriel Hesket Father, and *Cutbbert Hesket* Son, both Papists, *Lancashire*.

Thomas Walton of *Winder*, *Lancashire*, a Papist.

Edward Tildesly of the *Lodge*, a Papist, *Lancashire*, was acquitted by the Jury at the *Marshalsea*, tho' it was proved he had a Troop, and entred *Preston* at the Head of it with his Sword drawn. But his Sword had a Silver Handle.

Thomas Errington of *Beaufront*, a Papist, *Northumberland*: At his Trial pleaded Guilty; and is since removed from *Newgate* into the Custody of a Messenger, in order for an Enlargement.

Philip Hudson of *Sandow*, a Papist, *Northumberland*; by Marriage, Uncle to the Lord *Widdrington*.

James Talbot an *Irish* Papist, made his Escape from *Newgate*; but a Reward of 500 Pounds being set forth, he was retaken in *London*.

Alexander Deasines.

Lyonel Warden of *Westminster*, an *Oxford* Student; joined in the Rebellion with his Uncle Mr. *Robert Cotton*.

John Masterfon.

George Sanderson of *Higblee*, a Papist of *Northumberland*.

George Budden an Upholsterer of *London*, Protestant; made his Escape from *Newgate*.

William Charleton, Son to Mr. *Charleton* of the *Bower* in *Northumberland*, lately pardon'd by Queen *Anne* for murdering Mr. *Widdrington*. His Brother *Edward Charleton* is a Doctor of Physick, and lately turn'd Papist, having marry'd one of that Church.

Robert Cotton, a Gentleman of very good Fortune: He is a Nonjuror. This Gentleman is of good Repute for his Life and Conversation; is agreeable to all that have the Advantage of being acquainted

acquainted with him ; he is very much given to Hospitality ; and has a tender Regard to every unfortunate Person's Condition ; and, like a good Christian, thinks his plentiful Fortune put only into his Hands, that he might be serviceable in his Generation.

John Cotton his Son, both Protestants. He was liberally educated under the watchful Care of an affectionate Parent, who gave him all the Advantages to accomplish a Gentleman ; which he improved so, as to be capable of living either at Court as a Gentleman, with the Learned as a Scholar, or with his Country Neighbours as one of them ; to give him his due, he is of a Soul that is not lofty and aspiring, and yet not base or mean, and, which still adds, gives all that due Obedience and profound Respect that is justly owing to a kind Father.

Richard Gascoine an *Irish* Papist, executed at *Tyburn*, May 25. This Gentleman was born in *Ireland*, and descended from a good Family, that had been very serviceable to the Crown in *Oliver's* Rebellion. He was bred a *Roman* ; according to his Principles was zealous for the *Chevalier*, and a declar'd Enemy to the *Revolution*. His Grandfather was kill'd in the Service of King *Charles I.* and his Father in the Service of the unfortunate King *James II.* at the Siege of *Limerick*. He was Heir to an Estate of about 200 *l. per Ann.* which he converted into Money. He came to *London*, and being a tall handsome Man, of an engaging Conversation, soon got Acquaintance in Town, and with them indulg'd himself in all youthful Follies and Vices, which reduc'd him to mean Circumstances ; but the Cards and Dice, his great Companions, in a little time made him Reparation, for he became a great Proficient that way ; so being reinstated in *Fortune's* Favour, which, together with his good natural Parts, civil Behaviour,

Behaviour, and political Principles, soon brought him acquainted with the best Quality among the *Tories*, by whom he was intrusted with the principal Management at the *Bath*; from whence he fled as soon as he heard that his Majesty's Messengers were in quest of him, and so steer'd towards the *North* to find out the Rebels, whom he joined at *Preston*, and with those of Note was brought up to *London*, and confin'd to *Newgate*; whilst there he gave the greatest Demonstration of a true Penitent, and gave himself solely up to his Devotion, and dy'd with the greatest Unconcernedness of any of the unfortunate Rebels.

John Hunter of *Northumberland*, executed at *Liverpool*, a Protestant; he was shot thro' the Leg at *Preston*.

William Hardwick.

Richard Butler of *Racliffe*, *Lancashire*, a Papist, found guilty, and dy'd in *Newgate*.

Robert Patten, one of the Chaplains, Minister of *Allandale*, *Northumberland*; he sav'd his Life by being an Evidence for the King.

William Craster of *Craster*, *Northumberland*, came with *Mr. Forster*, and two others, into the Rebellion; these being all that Gentleman brought into the same Fate with himself.

Thomas Lisle of *Northumberland*, Protestant, very young.

Thomas Forster, a Relation of *Mr. Forster's*; he was try'd and found guilty at *Liverpool*.

William Raine of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, a Quarter-Master.

Thomas Riddle, Son to *Mr. Riddle* of *Swinbourn-Castle*, *Northumberland*, a Papist, pleaded guilty; he was, a little before the Rebellion, come from the College beyond Sea.

Henry Widdrington, Quarter-Master.

Richard Ord, with two Brothers, of *Weetwood*; one dy'd.

William

William Sanderfon of *Higblee*, *Northumberland*, a Papist, made his Escape from *Chester*. This Gentleman has many valuable and endearing Accomplishments.

John Towle, an *Irish* Papist.

Edward Mackay.

Henry Oxburgh, an *Irish* Papist, and call'd Colonel, executed at *Tyburn*. He was born in *Ireland* to a plentiful Estate, had served in the late King *James's* Army for a considerable Time, was of a good, mild, and merciful Disposition, very thoughtful, and a mighty zealous Man in his Religion, quiet in his Conversation, and more of the Priest in his Appearance than the Soldier: He dy'd very penitent. There came a Letter from *Ireland* to one in the Secretary's Office, to acquaint General *Stanhope*, Secretary of State, with this Gentleman's Character, and Inclinations to the *Pretender*; which made him appear as irreconcilable to the Protestant Interest.

William Dobson.

John Beaumont, a Papist, and Lieutenant, made his Escape in *Lancashire*.

John Crofts of *Wooler*, *Northumberland*, Adjutant.

William Calderwood, Quarter-Master-General to the *Scots*, formerly an Officer in *Douglafs's* Regiment on the *Dutch* Establishment, being in *Scotland* when the Rebellion began, was prevail'd with by Lord *Kenmure* to join the Rebels.

English Followers, or Servants.

<i>Robert Bruse,</i>	<i>Corn. Stewart,</i>	<i>James Robson,</i>
<i>Val. Errington,</i>	<i>Luke Blacket,</i>	<i>William Hardy,</i>
<i>Edward Tinklar,</i>	<i>Thomas Dixon,</i>	<i>James Mills,</i>
<i>John Atkinson,</i>	<i>Oliver Hamilton,</i>	<i>John Brady,</i>
<i>John Miliison,</i>	<i>William Ansley,</i>	<i>Robert Brown,</i>
<i>John Patrick,</i>	<i>Robert Stubs,</i>	<i>James Wilkinson,</i>
	I	<i>J. Bywater,</i>

<i>J. Bywater,</i>	<i>Henry Rowley,</i>	<i>John Clarke,</i>
<i>Jonnage Aron,</i>	<i>Ralph Lorrain,</i>	<i>Mich. Mosses,</i>
<i>Henry Masson,</i>	<i>Garret Nangle,</i>	<i>Wil. Farnworth,</i>
<i>William Smell,</i>	<i>William Purdy,</i>	<i>John Farnworth,</i>
<i>John Holt,</i>	<i>Thomas Lee,</i>	<i>William Wilson,</i>
<i>Andr. Thompson,</i>	<i>Mr. Wesby, Gen-</i>	<i>William Tash,</i>
<i>James Shaw,</i>	<i>tleman to the</i>	<i>Henry Gardiner,</i>
<i>John Burtbam,</i>	<i>Earl of Der-</i>	<i>John Steele,</i>
<i>Nicholas Doyle,</i>	<i>wentwater,</i>	<i>Ra. Todd,</i>
<i>Thomas Holling,</i>	<i>John Todd,</i>	<i>Henry Todd,</i>
<i>Edward Bullock,</i>	<i>William Stewart,</i>	<i>John Todd,</i>
<i>John Omfield,</i>	<i>Roger Balson,</i>	<i>Charles May,</i>
<i>Thomas Moore,</i>	<i>John Wilson,</i>	<i>Henry Ashley,</i>
<i>John Rowland,</i>	<i>Thomas Smith,</i>	<i>William Ratcliff,</i>
<i>Nicholas Wilson,</i>	<i>John Thornton,</i>	<i>William Wilson,</i>
<i>John Thornton,</i>	<i>Wil. Dixson,</i>	<i>Tim. Flanagan,</i>
<i>William Young,</i>	<i>Leonard Ord,</i>	<i>Charles Bartes,</i>
<i>Henry Wilson,</i>	<i>William Scot,</i>	<i>Ro. Finkle,</i>
<i>Cutbbert Hasket,</i>	<i>Thomas Fareburn,</i>	<i>James Wilson,</i>
<i>Thomas Bell,</i>	<i>James Richmond,</i>	<i>William Todd,</i>
<i>Mr. Hilyard Gen-</i>	<i>James Asington,</i>	<i>William Read,</i>
<i>tleman to Lord</i>	<i>Albert Hackfel,</i>	<i>R. Wilson.</i>
<i>Widdrington,</i>	<i>John Tasker,</i>	

A LIST of the Scots Officers.

M'into's Battalion consisted of thirteen Companies, fifty Men in each Company before the Desertion at *Langholm*.

<i>— Ferguson</i> Lieutenant-	<i>Laughlan M'into's</i> senior,
<i>Colonel of Invercall,</i>	<i>Capt.</i>
<i>pardon'd by the Prince.</i>	<i>Farquhar M'gilroy</i> Capt.
<i>John M'into's</i> Major, Bro-	<i>Angus M'bean</i> Capt.
<i>ther to the Brigadier,</i>	<i>Robert Shaw</i> Capt.
<i>escap'd.</i>	<i>Duncomb M'into's</i> Capt.
	<i>William</i>

<i>William M'intosh</i> Capt.	<i>William Maquin</i> Lieut.
<i>Angus M'intosh</i> Capt.	<i>John M'intosh</i> Lieut.
<i>Laugblan M'intosh</i> junior, Capt.	<i>Doncan, M'intosh</i> Lieut.
<i>Francis Farquharson</i> of <i>Wbirhouse</i> , acquitted.	<i>John Abercromby</i> Lieut. and Aid de Camp.
<i>Laugblan M'clean</i> Capt.	—— <i>Skeen</i> Lieut. and Aid de Camp.
<i>William M'gilroy</i> Lieut.	<i>David Stuart</i> Lieut.
<i>John Farquharson</i> of <i>Kirk-toun</i> , acquitted.	<i>Will. M'intosh</i> Lieut.
<i>John M'intosh</i> Lieut.	<i>Jo. M'intosh</i> Aid de Cong.
<i>Farquhar M'gilroy</i> Lieut.	<i>Daniel Grant</i> Adjutant.
<i>John M'bean</i> Lieut.	<i>Dav. M'quhan</i> Pay-Master.
<i>Angus Spaw</i> Lieut.	<i>William Shaw</i> Quarter-Master.
<i>Benj. M'intosh</i> Lieut.	
<i>James M'intosh</i> Lieut.	

Strathmore's Regiment : A great Part of them were prevented from crossing the *Forth* by the KING's Ships: but these did ;

<i>William Duglass</i> Capt.	<i>Patrick Duglass</i> Ensign.
<i>William Miller</i> Capt.	<i>Hugh Ken</i> Ensign.
<i>John Screnger</i> Capt.	<i>Alex. Magiven</i> Ensign.
<i>James Balfewer</i> Capt.	<i>Andrew Ramsay</i> Ensign.
<i>William Lyon</i> Lieut.	<i>Henry Ogilvey</i> Ensign.
<i>Alexander Murray</i> Lieut.	<i>Will. Henderson</i> Quarter-Master.
<i>Alexander Orrack</i> Lieut.	
<i>John Burnes</i> Lieut.	

Logie Drummond's Regiment : Better Part hereof were prevented from crossing the *Forth*, and some of them left in *Leith*.

<i>David Drummond</i> Capt.	<i>Alexander Drummond</i> .
<i>John Carnagy</i> Capt.	<i>Archibald M'laugblan</i> .
<i>Alex. M'grudder</i> Capt.	<i>William Grudder</i> .
<i>James Drummond</i> Lieut.	

Lord Nairne's Regiment : Several were stop't from
crossing the Forth.

Lord Nairne Colonel.	John Stuart Capt.
John Stuart Lieut. Col.	Robert Stuart Capt.
——— Blair Major.	Arch. Butler, the Lady's
Alex. Robertson Capt.	Darling, tho' mangy in
James Stuart Capt.	the Rebellion,
James Robertson Capt.	

Mur's Battalion : Several left on the other side the
Forth.

Nathanael Forbes Major.	John Cattanack Lieut.
John James Capt.	Henry Lamsden Lieut.
Donald Ferguson Capt.	Robert Gordon Lieut.
John Gordon Capt.	

Lord Charles Murray's Regiment.

Lord Murray Colonel.	Alex. Mineries Capt.
Master of Nairn Lieute- nant-Colonel.	Don. Robertson Capt.
James Stuart Major.	John Robertson Capt.
James Mineries Capt.	Patrick Robertson Capt.
Alex. Mineries Lieut.	John McKeivan Lieut.
Adam Reid Lieut.	Dun. Campbell Lieut.
John Stuart.	John Robson.
John Ratson.	James Raton.
Alexander Stuart.	John Stuart.

English

<i>English</i> Noblemen and Gentlemen	}	_____	75
taken Prisoners _____			
Their Servants, or Followers,	_____	83	
Private Men in the Church	_____	305	
Total <i>English</i>		_____	463

<i>Scots</i> Noblemen, Officers, and Gen-	}	_____	143
tlemen, taken Prisoners _____			
Their Vassals, &c.	_____	862	
Total <i>Scots</i>		_____	1005

Re-taken	_____	21
In all	_____	1489

A great many found Means to escape.



[133]

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. second of these is the fact that the
3. third of these is the fact that the

4. fourth of these is the fact that the
5. fifth of these is the fact that the

6. sixth of these is the fact that the
7. seventh of these is the fact that the

8. eighth of these is the fact that the

9. ninth of these is the fact that the

10. tenth of these is the fact that the



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N
I N
S C O T L A N D.

P A R T I I.

THE Earl of *Mar* upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, whose Secretary of State he was, as it is believ'd, had no Rebelious Designs then in his Head; nor, could he have had his selfish Views answer'd, would he perhaps ever have embark'd as he did; as may seem by a Letter he sent to His Majesty King *GEORGE* with a tender of his Duty, and expressing himself in the most passionate Terms, as a Person full of Loyalty and Affection to his Person and Government, ready to serve his Interest, and defend his Succession; the Copy of which it is very necessary to put in the Front of what offers concerning him, and is as follows:

S. J. B.
HAVING the Happiness to be your Majesty's Subject, and also the Honour of being one of your Servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave to kiss your Majesty's Hand, and congratulate your happy Accession to the Throne; which I would have done myself the Honour of doing sooner, had I not hop'd to have had the Honour of doing it personally e'er now.

I am afraid I may have had the Misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and my Reason for thinking so, is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's Servants, whom your Ministers here did not visit; which I mentioned to Mr. *Harley*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty; and your Ministers carrying so to me, was the Occasion of my receiving such Orders as depriv'd me of the Honour and Satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here, upon Account of Party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our Parties here too often occasion; but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give Credit to such Misrepresentations.

The Part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the Succession to the Crown was settled for *Scotland* on your Majesty's Family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my Sincerity and Faithfulness to your Majesty out of Dispute.

My Family hath had the honour, for a great Tract of Years, to be faithful Servants to the Crown, and have had the Care of the King's Children
 (when

‘ (when Kings of *Scotland*) intrusted to them. A
 ‘ Predecessor of mine was honour’d with the Care
 ‘ of your Majesty’s Grandmother when young;
 ‘ and she was pleas’d afterwards to express some
 ‘ Concern for our Family in Letters which I still
 ‘ have under her own Hand.

‘ I have had the honour to serve her late Majesty
 ‘ in one Capacity or other, ever since her Accession
 ‘ to the Crown. I was happy in a good Mistress,
 ‘ and she was pleas’d to have some Confidence in
 ‘ me, and Regard for my Services: And since
 ‘ your Majesty’s happy Accession to the Crown,
 ‘ I hope you will find that I have not been wanting
 ‘ in my Duty, in being instrumental in keeping
 ‘ Things quiet and peaceable in the Country to
 ‘ which I belong, and have some Interest in.

‘ Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful
 ‘ and dutiful a Subject and Servant as ever any of
 ‘ my Family have been to the Crown, or as I have
 ‘ been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg
 ‘ your Majesty may be so good, not to believe any
 ‘ Misrepresentations of me, which nothing but Party
 ‘ Hatred, and my Zeal for the Interest of the Crown
 ‘ doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay
 ‘ Claim to your Royal Favour and Protection.

‘ As your Accession to the Crown hath been quiet
 ‘ and peaceable, may your Majesty’s Reign be long
 ‘ and prosperous: And that your People may soon
 ‘ have the Happiness and Satisfaction of your Presence
 ‘ among them, is the earnest and fervent Wishes of
 ‘ him, who is with the humblest Duty and Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty’s most faithful,

most dutiful, and most obedient

Subject and Servant,

M A R.

Now

Now altho', besides this, he had, upon some Reasons best known to himself, prevail'd with himself, perhaps against Principle, to take the Oaths to his present Majesty, he took another Liberty afterwards more wicked and equally harden'd, (*viz.*) to forget and cast off the Obligation of those Oaths, and resolve upon Rebellion against that very Prince he had sworn to. In order to this, he concerted Measures with the Jacobites and Papists to form a Rebellion, and by Force of Arms to make way for the *Pretender*, as well to bring him in, as to establish him upon the Imperial Throne of these Kingdoms: In which Concert, he for his part took upon him to draw the chief of the Clans in the Highlands of *Scotland* to Arms, and with them to enter into open Rebellion. Accordingly, about the Month of *August*, 1715. he set out for *Scotland*, where he made, for a Pretence, a great Hunting. This proclaiming a Hunting, is a Custom among the Lords and Chiefs of Families in the Highlands, and on which Occasions they invite their Neighbouring Gentlemen and Vassals to a general Rendezvous, to hunt or chase the Deer upon the Mountains, of which they have there great Plenty. The Usage on these Occasions is, that all the People round the Country, being well arm'd, assemble upon the Day appointed; and after the Diversion is over, the Persons of Note are invited to an Entertainment; which the Earl of *Mar* observed, and having got his Friends together, he made his Intention known to them in a publick Speech full of Invectives against the Protestant Succession in general, and against King *GEORGE* in particular. It is true, that at first he gained little or no Credit amongst them, they suspecting some piece of Policy in him to ensnare them: But some were weak enough to suck in the Poison, and particularly some of those who were with him at his House, called

Brace-

Brac-Mar. These listening to him, embrac'd his Project, and, as is reported, engag'd by Oath to stand by him, and one another, and to bring over their Friends and Dependants to do the like.

Previous to this, it will be necessary to give a full Account of the general Humour of the *Scots*, and their Inclinations to fix the *Pretender* upon the Throne of *Scotland*, which the Union so universally disliked both by the Presbyterians and Episcopal Party in general; but the Presbyterians in a great measure had heightned them to such a Resentment, that the designing Party in the *Pretender's* Interest made it the main Bait to catch the unthinking People, who imagin'd themselves enslav'd to *English* Bondage by the Union. How far this was cultivated, is plainly laid down by the ingenious Author of the Memoirs of the Affairs in *Scotland*, of which I shall give a short hint, to shew how artfully the *Pretender's* Interest was advanced in that Kingdom: There was one Colonel *Hook* sent from *France*, who landed in the North of *Scotland* about *March 1707*. He conversed with the Countess of *Errol*, Sister to the Duke of *Perth*, who told him who were proper Persons for him to converse with to promote his Master's Interest. He then came to the Shires of *Perth* and *Angus*, and avowed himself an Ambassador.

After he had found the People's Pulses, he produced a Letter from the *Pretender*, and another from the *French* King, empowering him to treat with the People of *Scotland*, for establishing the Chevalier *St. George* upon the Throne, and recovering the Nation's Sovereignty and ancient Privileges: He likewise produced several Queries from Monsieur *de Torci*, relating to the Number of Men that could be raised in *Scotland*; the Conveniency of subsisting Troops, besides the Number of Men, Sum of Money, and other War-like Matters to be
sent

sent from *France*; these Matters being adjusted, an Answer to Monsieur de *Torci's* Questions was compiled, with a full Account of the Posture of Affairs, particularly the People's Inclinations, and Forwardness of the very Presbyterians; and so signed Papers which were lodged in the hands of Colonel *Hook*, to be transported to *France*, subscribed by sixteen Peers. This gave Encouragement for the Court of *France* to fit out a Fleet to transport the Chevalier St. *George* to *Scotland*, which was done accordingly, but without any Result, but returning in haste home; yet this early Engagement to the *Pretender*, tho' then crossed, was still maintain'd till the Rebellion broke out; tho' some that were then very forward, acted now in Disguise, as a certain Duke in the *North* has done; yet his Vassals encouraged by his Son, made themselves a very great part of those in Rebellion.

The Highlanders in *Scotland* are, of all Men in the World, the soonest wrought upon to follow their Leaders or Chiefs into the Field, having a wonderful Veneration for their Lords and Chieftains, as they are called there: Nor do these People ever consider the Validity of the engaging Cause, but blindly follow their Chiefs into what Mischief they please, and that with the greatest Precipitation imaginable.

They are so entire at the Devotion of their Chiefs, that formerly, when one Clan fell out with another, they formed Bodies, and invaded each other's Territories, spoiling and plundering each other's Lands, and publick Rencounters follow'd not easily to be appeased, the Grudges for many Generations, of which there are still some remaining.

The Earl of *Mar*, to gloss his Actions with a seeming Reflection as of Sorrow for what was past, told them, that tho' he had been very instrumental in forwarding the Union of the Two Kingdoms, in the

the late Reign of Queen *Anne*, yet now his Eyes were open, and he could see his Error, and would therefore do what lay in his Power to make them again a Free People, and that they should enjoy their ancient Liberties, which were by that *curfed Union*, as he call'd it, deliver'd up into the Hands of the *English*; whose Power to enslave them farther was too great, and their Designs to do it daily visible, by the Measures that were taken, especially by the Prince of *Hanover*; who ever since he had ascended the Throne, regarded not the Welfare of his People, nor their Religion, but solely left it to a Set of Men, who, while they push'd on his particular Interest to secure his Government, made such Alterations in Church and State as they thought fit; and that they had already begun to encroach upon the Liberties of both; which, he assured them, had already given Occasion to some to consult their own Safety, and who were actually resolved vigorously to defend their Liberties and Properties against the said new Courtiers, and their Innovations, and to establish the Person called the Chevalier *St. George*, who, he said, had the only undoubted Right of the Crown, upon the Throne of these Realms; which Person, he told them, had promised to hear their Grievances, and would redress their Wrongs. Farther he added, That Thousands were in League and Covenant with him, and with one another, to Rise and Depose King *GEORGE*, and establish the said Chevalier; and that the Duke of *Ormond* and the Lord *Bolingbrook* were gone over to *France* to engage the Regent of *France* to be aiding and assisting with Men and Money, and that they would not fail, with a good Force, to land, together with the Duke of *Berwick* to command them, in the West of *England*.

This, and much more he said to them with a popular insinuating Air, which presently took with
the

the unthinking People in the Highlands, who being also persuaded by some of their Leading Men, easily gave Credit to what he said; when having before obtained the *Pretender's* Commission to act as Lieutenant-General, immediately took upon him to exercise the Authority of a Military Officer; and accordingly upon the 9th of *September*, 1715. set up the *Pretender's* Standard at a Town called *Kirk-Michael*, and there proclaimed him King of *Scotland, England, France, &c.* Having continued here four or five Days, he, with this small Beginning, for he had not then above 60 Men with him, marched to *Moulin*, thence to *Logaret*, increasing daily, and being then near 1000 Men; thence he marched to *Dunkeld*, and was by that time increased to 2000. With these he set forwards to *Pertb*, having ordered that Town to be seized, as it was by Mr. *John Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinnoul*. This was done on the 16th of *September*, with a Party of about 200 Horse: The Earl of *Rothes* being at the same time marching with a Body of 500 Men of King *GEORGE's* Friends to have done the same. He staid at this Town some time, expecting the Clans to join him, and sent out Parties to several Quarters, to bring in what Ammunition and Arms they could find, and of which they really brought in a great many: Several Pieces of Cannon were also brought hither to him from *Dunotter-Castle*, and from *Dundee*: He likewise having Intelligence of a Ship's loading of Arms which lay at *Brunt-Island*, bound for the North to the Earl of *Sutherland*, he detached a Party of 800 Men, who went and seized the Vessel, and found therein 306 compleat Stands of Arms, design'd, as before is said, for the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was just then gone to his own Country, to raise his Tenants and Vassals for the King's Service, and, if possible, to hinder the Northern Clans from joining the Earl of *Mar*.

By

By this time however the Clans began to stir : And first of all, the Laird of *Mackintosh*, Chief of the Name of *Mackintosh*, and who are a considerable and numerous Clan, by the Persuasion of his Kinsman the Brigadier of that Name, commanded his Vassals to attend him to the *Pretender's* Standard then at *Perth*. And here it is observable, that tho' these Men were always noted to be on the other Side, and were always for the *Revolution* ; yet without examining the Cause, several of them obey'd his Orders, and blindly engaged. The Brigadier placed himself at their Head, formed them into a Regiment, and regulated them very well, being no less than 500 stout Men. Thus they marched with their Chief to *Perth*, where they found the Earl of *Mar* with his Forces.

They were no sooner advanced to that Town, but he singled them out, and the Brigadier at the Head of them, for that desperate Attempt of passing the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, and landing in *Lothian*, (of which I have spoken at large.) Accordingly they march'd to the Sea-Coast of *Fife*, and there, with other five Regiments, *viz.* *Mar's* own, Lord *Strathmore's*, Lord *Nairn's*, Lord *Charles Murray's*, and Lord *Druinmond's* ; making in all 2500 Men ; having seized all the Boats they could find upon that Coast, they all embark'd. His Majesty's Ships then in the *Firth* made up to them, as well as the Circumstances would permit, but could not hinder 1500 from crossing, and getting fairly ashore, tho' they fired hard upon them ; (of all which a full Account is already given in the *English* Part of the Story.)

I therefore go back to the Earl of *Mar's* Proceeding : The Account of the taking the Ship with Arms, gave some Reputation to his Conduct. The Manner was thus ; the Arms that were taken, were ordered from *Edinburgh* Castle for the Earl of *Sutherland*,

sberland, and were shipped off at *Leith*; but the Master of the Ship called at *Brunt-Island* to see his Wife and Family, the Earl of *Mar* having notice, detach'd from *Perth*, *October 2.* in the Evening, 400 Horse, with as many Foot behind them, who arrived at *Brunt-Island* about Midnight; and having press'd all the Boats in the River, boarded the Vessel, and seiz'd the Arms. They also found about 100 Arms in the Town, and 20 or 30 in another Ship; all which they took and carried off, and so returned to *Perth* undisturb'd: For the Duke of *Argyle* had no notice of them till it was too late; on the contrary, the Duke had notice that the Earl of *Mar* design'd to be at *Alloway*, his own House, four Miles from *Stirling*, with a strong Detachment. Upon which Advice, he order'd out the Picquets of Horse and Foot, and had all the Troops ready to march to sustain them, if there had been occasion; but none of the Rebels appearing, the Picquets returned to the Camp. For indeed this was a false Alarm, design'd by the Earl of *Mar* on purpose to amuse the Duke. The Success the Rebels found at *Brunt-Island* mightily encouraged them and their Friends: Also in every Place after, they not forgetting to range about the Towns and Coast of *Fife* in quest of Arms, and in part made themselves amends for their being disappointed in those they expected from *France*; which, by the Care of *Sir George Bing*, were about this time discovered, and by the earnest Application of the Earl of *Stair*, were stopt at *Havre-de-Grace*.

The same Day that the Earl of *Mar* went from *Dunkeld* to *Perth*, Mr. *James Murray*, second Son to the Viscount of *Stormount*, arrived *incognito* at *Edinburgh* from *France*, by way of *England*, and crossing the *Firth* at *Newhaven* above *Leith*, got undiscover'd into *Fife*, and so to *Perth*. His Arrival gave another Occasion of great Rejoicings among

mong the Rebels ; for he brought large Promises from the *Pretender*, and from the Court of *St. Germain's*, and took to himself the Character of Secretary of State, to the *Pretender*. About this time also, a strong Party of the *Mac-Donald's*, *Mac-Clean's*, and *Cameron's* in Rebellion, attempted to surprize the Garison of *Inverlochy*, and succeeded so far as to take two Redoubts at some Distance, in one of which were an Officer and twenty Men, and another a Serjeant with five : But the main Garison being upon their Guard, the Rebels marched off to *Argyllshire*.

Before I proceed any further in this Part, the Order of Things calls me back to give an Account of a Design to surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*. It was on the 9th of *September* that the Attempt was made ; the Lord *Drummond* was the Person chiefly concern'd, but it was communicated to several others, and there were no less than Ninety choice Men pick'd out for the Enterprize, all Gentlemen. They had corrupted one *Ainley* a Serjeant, who was afterwards hang'd for it ; a Corporal, and two Centinels, within the Castle : These were to be ready to assist at a certain Place upon the Wall near the Sally-Port ; where, having contrived a Scaling-Ladder made of Ropes and with Pulleys, which being fastened to the Top of the Wall by the Conspirators, the Centinel was to draw up with a small Rope provided on Purpose. This Engine was so contrived, that it could draw up several Men a-breast ; all the Joints or Lengths of this Ladder not coming at once, it proved too short in Length for any to get over the Wall. While this was doing, the Officers of the Garison got Intelligence of the Design, and having got their Men together silently, they discover'd the Ladder, unloosed it at the Top of the Wall, and let it fall, and immediately ordered the Centinel to discharge his Piece. Upon this,

the Rounds also fired upon the Gentlemen at the Foot of the Ladder, who immediately dispers'd themselves, four only of their Number being taken. This Project's failing, is attributed to the Gentleman's Neglect in not bringing all the Lengths of the Ladder at once, and the Centinel's fixing of it at a Place some Distance from that first resolv'd on : For Lieutenant *Lindsey* going the Rounds, as above, found that the Ladder was actually drawn up, and fixed on the Top of the Wall ; upon which, he ordered the next Centinel to fire, (as above.) The Conspirators finding the Plot was discover'd, fled, as is said ; but a Party of the Town-Guard, which, at the Request of the Lord Justice Clerk, the Provost, had been sent out to Patrole with some resolute Volunteers, coming up, found one *Mac-Lean*, formerly an Officer, sprawling on the Ground, and bruised with a Fall from the Wall ; whom they secur'd, with Mr. *Lefly*, Mr. *Ramsay*, and Mr. *Bowwell* ; the last two, Writers ; the first, formerly Page to the Dutchess of *Gordon*. They likewise found the Ladder, and one Dozen of Fire-Locks and Car-bines. Each Person concern'd was to have 100 l. Sterling, and a Commission in the Army. The Number of Soldiers engag'd in this Conspiracy were, a Serjeant who was to have a Lieutenant's Place ; the Corporal an Ensign's ; and one of the Soldiers had eight Guineas, and the other four. The Lord *Drummond* was to be Governor of the Castle, as being Contriver of the Design. If this Design had succeeded, the Conspirators were to fire three Rounds in the Castle, which was to be a Signal for their Friends.

But to return to the Earl of *Mar*, who having possessed *Perth*, and being greatly encouraged by some Proceedings, he ordered the *Pretender* to be proclaimed there ; which was done by Colonel *Balfour*, and at several other Places, as at *Aberdeen* ;
by

by the Earl of *Marischal* at *Dundee* ; by one created Viscount of *Dundee* by the *Pretender*, at *Montrose* ; by the Earl of *Southesk*, at *Forreſs* ; by Mr. *Cunning*, at *Alter*.

By this time the Earl of *Mar* alſo had taken upon him the Title of Lieutenant-General of the *Pretender's* Forces, and ordered the following Declaration to be publiſhed ; and alſo a Letter to the Bailiff of *Kildrummy*, as follows :

The Earl of MAR's Declaration.

OUR Rightful and Natural King *James* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our Oppreſſions, having been pleas'd to entruſt us with the Direction of his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces in this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* : And ſome of his faithful Subjects and Servants met at *Aboyne*, viz. the Lord *Huntley*, the Lord *Tullibardine*, the Earl *Marischal*, the Earl of *Southesk*, *Glingary* from the Clans, *Glenderule* from the Earl of *Broadalbain*, and Gentlemen of *Angleſhire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterbouse*, the Laird of *Auldbair*, Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*, Major-General *Gordon*, and myſelf, having taken into Conſideration his Majeſty's laſt and late Orders to us, find, that as this is now the Time that he ordered us to appear openly in Arms for him, ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, and the relieving our Native Country from all its Hardſhips, that all his faithful and loving Subjects, and Lovers of their Country, ſhould with all poſſible Speed put themſelves into Arms.

Theſe are therefore, in his Majeſty's Name and Authority, and by Virtue of the Power aforeſaid, and by the King's ſpecial Order to me thereunto, to require and impower you forthwith to raiſe

‘ your Yencible Men, with their best Arms, and you
‘ are immediately to march them to join me and
‘ some other of the King’s Forces at the *Invor* of
‘ *Brae-mar*, on *Monday* next, in order to proceed
‘ on our March to attend the King’s Standard,
‘ with his other Forces.

‘ The King intending that his Forces shall be paid
‘ from the Time of their setting out, he expects,
‘ as he positively orders, that they behave them-
‘ selves civilly, and commit no Plundering, nor
‘ other Disorders, upon the highest Penalties and
‘ his Displeasure, which is expected you’ll see ob-
‘ served.

‘ Now is the Time for all good Men to shew
‘ their Zeal for his Majesty’s Service, whose Cause
‘ is so deeply concerned, and the Relief of our na-
‘ tive Country from Oppression and a foreign Yoke,
‘ too heavy for us and our Posterity to bear ; and
‘ to endeavour the restoring not only our rightful
‘ and native King, but also our Country to its an-
‘ cient, free, and independent Constitution, under
‘ him, whose Ancestors have reigned over us for so
‘ many Generations.

‘ In so honourable, good, and just a Cause, we
‘ cannot doubt of the Assistance, Direction, and
‘ Blessing of Almighty God, who has so often re-
‘ scued the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our Coun-
‘ try from sinking under Oppression.

‘ Your punctual Observance of these Orders is
‘ expected : For the doing of all which, this shall
‘ be to you, and all you employ in the Execution
‘ of them, a sufficient Warrant.

To the Bailiff and
the rest of the
Gentlemen of
the Lordship of
Kildrummy.

*Given at Brae-Mar, the
9th of Sept. 1715.*

M A R.

The

*The Earl of MAR's LETTER to his
Bailiff of Kildrummy.*

Invercauld, Sept. 9, at Night, 1715.

Jocke,

YE was in the right not to come with the
100 Men ye sent up to Night, when I ex-
pected four times the Number. It is a pretty
Thing, when all the *Higblands* of *Scotland* are
now rising upon their King and Country's Ac-
count, as I have Accounts from them since they
were with me, and the Gentlemen of our neigh-
bouring *Lowlands* expecting us down to join them,
that my Men should be only refractory. Is not
this the Thing we are now about, which they
have been wishing this Twenty-six Years? And
now when it is come, and the King and Country's
Cause at Stake, will they for ever sit still, and
see all perish?

I have us'd gentle Means too long, and so I
shall be forc'd to put other Orders I have in Exe-
cution. I have sent you enclosed, an Order for
the Lordship of *Kildrummy*, which you are im-
mediately to intimate to all my Vassals; if they
give ready Obedience, it will make some Amends;
and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it
will not be in my Power to save them (were I
willing) from being treated as Enemies, by those
who are ready soon to join me; and they may
depend on it, that I will be the first to propose
and order their being so. Particularly, let my
own Tenants in *Kildrummy* know, that if they
come not forth with their best Arms, that I will
send a Party immediately to burn what they shall
miss taking from them: And they may believe
this

' this not only a Threat, but, by all that's sacred,
 ' I'll put it in Execution, let my Loss be what it
 ' will, that it may be Example to others. You
 ' are to tell the Gentlemen that I'll expect them in
 ' their best Accoutrements, on Horseback, and no
 ' Excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all
 ' Diligence, and come yourself, and let me know
 ' your having done so. All this is not only as
 ' you will be answerable to me, but to your King
 ' and Country.

Your assured Friend

Sic Subscribitur.
 To John Forbes of
 Incherat, Bailiff
 of Kildrumny.

and Servant,

M A R.

Upon the News of the Earl of *Mar's* being thus
 in Arms, and of the Progress he made, Orders were
 dispatched immediately to *Edinburgh*, to secure such
 suspected Persons as were thought to be capable of
 Mischief, whose Names are as follow :

The Marquis of <i>Huntley</i> .	The Lord Viscount of
The Earl of <i>Seaforth</i> .	<i>Kenmure</i> .
The Earl of <i>Wintoun</i> .	The Lord Viscount of
The Earl of <i>Carnwath</i> .	<i>Stormount</i> .
The Earl of <i>Southesk</i> .	The Lord Viscount of
The Earl of <i>Nithsdale</i> .	<i>Kilsyth</i> .
The Earl of <i>Linlithgow</i> .	The Lord Viscount of
The Earl of <i>Mar</i> .	<i>Kingston</i> .
The Earl of <i>Hume</i> .	The Lord Viscount of
The Earl of <i>Wigtoun</i> .	<i>Strathballerton</i> .
The Earl of <i>Kinnoul</i> .	The Lord <i>Ogilvie</i> .
The Earl of <i>Panmure</i> .	The Lord <i>Rollo</i> .
The Earl of <i>Marischal</i> .	The Lord <i>Drummond</i> .
The Earl of <i>Broadalbin</i> .	The Lord <i>Nairn</i> .

The

The Lord *Glenorgbay*.

Sir *James Campbell* of *Auchirbrech*.

Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Locknell*.

Sir *Donald Mac-Donald*.

Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*.

Sir *Hugh Paterson* of *Bannockburn*.

Sir *Alexander Ereskine*, Lord *Lyon*.

Sir *John Macklean*.

Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*.

Master of *Stormount*.

Master of *Nairn*.

Master *Alexander Mackenzie* of *Frazerdale*.

James Sterling of *Keir*.

Robert Stuart of *Appin*.

John Campbell of *Abtralder*.

William Murray, Younger, of *Auchtertyre*.

Alexander Robinson of *Strowan*.

Laird of *Mackinnan*.

William Drummond, Servant to Lord *Drummond*.

Mr. *Seaton* of *Touch*.

Lieutenant *Allen Cameron*.

Robert Roy, alias *Mac-Gregor*.

Mr. *Stewart* of *Ard*.

Master *Francis Stewart*, Brother to the Earl of *Murray*.

John Cameron of *Lochell*.

Laird of *Clanronald*.

Laird of *Glenghairy*.

Laird of *Keppach*.

Mr. *John Fullerton* of *Greenball*.

Mackintosh, Younger, of *Borlam*.

James Malcolm.

Mr. *Harry Maule*, Brother to the Earl of *Panmure*.

Wackinshaw of *Barafeld*.

Colin Campbell of *Glenderule*.

Graham of *Bucklivy*.

George Hume of *Whitfield*.

Master *John Drummond*, Brother to the Lord *Drummond*.

Lyon of Auferhouse. Master Balfour.
Colonel Balfour. Bothune of Balfour.

At the same time Orders were sent to Major-General *Wightman*, who was then Commander in Chief in *Scotland*, and was upon the Spot, forthwith to march with all the regular Troops that could be spared, to form a Camp in the Park of *Stirling*, to secure the important Pass of *Stirling-Bridge* over the *Forth*, and to quarter the Half-pay Officers in such a Manner all over the Country, as that they might be in Readiness to Encourage, Exercise, and Command the Militia on any Emergence. Orders were likewise given to all Officers in the Sea-Port Towns, to have a watchful Eye over all Ships which came into the said Ports, or appear'd upon the Coast, lest they should land the *Pretender*, or any others suspected Persons, or bring the Rebels any Supply of Arms or Ammunition. But notwithstanding these Orders, and that all possible Care was taken in the Case, there was a small Ship came to *Arbroth*, a little Port in the North of *Scotland*, loaden with Arms and Ammunition, and which had some Gentlemen on Board from *France*; which Ship was there unloaded by the Highlanders. A few Days after, another Ship arrived with several Officers, but no Stores of Arms, &c. The said Officers went directly for *Perth* to the Earl of *Mar*, and gave him an Account that the *Pretender* would be soon in Person amongst them; which News the Earl of *Mar* caused to be immediately publish'd in his Army, to encourage the Men. And now his Forces being considerably increased, he resolved to cross the *Forth*, if possible, and advance towards *Edinburgb*. He design'd this Passage five or six Miles above *Stirling*, and to make a swift March, that he might not be prevented by the King's Forces, who were yet but very weak. The Day he

he appointed was the 18th of *October*; but upon Intelligence receiv'd that his Plot was discover'd, and a Detachment order'd to wait upon his March, he put it off; and tho' part of his Army was advanc'd some Miles, he return'd back to *Perth*.

Some few Days before this, the Earl of *Mar*, resolving to make use of the Advantages he had, by possessing so large an Extent of the Country, thought of raising some Money, and to that End issued out the following Proclamation for an Assessment.

PURsuant and conform to an Order from the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Mar*, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, dated at the Camp at *Perth* the 4th. of *October*, 1715. These are commanding and requiring every Heretor, Fewer, or Woodsetter now attending the King's Standard, or that may be excus'd, or their Factors and Doers in their Absence, and likewise all Life-Renters, do immediately proportion and raise, among their Tenants and Possessors of their respective Estates, and Life-Rent Lands, the Sum of Twenty Shillings Sterling on each Hundred Pounds of *Scots* of valued Rent: And such Heretors who do not immediately, nor shall, betwixt the 12th. of *October* Instant, attend the King's Standard, if not excused by the said noble Earl, immediately proportion and raise out of their respective Estates, the Sum of Forty Shillings Sterling on each Hundred Pounds *Scots* of valued Rent; which several Proportions, according to their respective Cases aforesaid, are, by the said Order, ordain'd to be paid by every Heretor, Fewer, Woodsetter, and Life-Renter, to — Collector, against the 12th Day of this Instant *October*, at —

Upon

Upon this the Duke of *Argyle*, to prevent as much as possible the Effect of it, made the following Counter-Order.

By John Duke of Argyle, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

• **W** Hereas I am certainly informed, That the
 • Earl of *Mar*, and the other Rebels, have,
 • in Prosecution of their Treasonable Practices, ad-
 • ventur'd to impose a Cess upon some Parts of the
 • Shires of *Fife, Clackmanan, Kinross, and Perth*;
 • and whereas the paying any Money to the Rebels;
 • or complying with any of their Orders or De-
 • mands, will infer High-Treason against such as
 • do the same, as being Aiders, Comforters, and
 • Abettors of the Rebels: Therefore, and that all
 • well-affected People may know and prevent their
 • Danger in this Matter, I hereby, in His Ma-
 • jesty's Name and Authority, strictly prohibit and
 • discharge all His Majesty's good Subjects, in the
 • Countries above-mention'd, or any other-where
 • within *Scotland*, to give or furnish the Rebels with
 • Money, Provisions, or any other Aid or Assist-
 • ance or Comfort whatsoever, directly or indi-
 • rectly, under the highest Pains and Punishments
 • of the Law. And this I appoint to be intimated
 • at each Parish-Church-Door after divine Service,
 • and before Dissolution of the Congregation, the
 • Sabbath immediately after this, or a Copy hereof
 • comes to your Hand.

*Given at Stirling the 25th
 of October, 1715.*

Sign'd

ARGYLE.

And

And another Order for Recruiting His Majesty's Forces, as follows :

By John Duke of Argyle, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

WHEREAS our gracious Sovereign King GEORGE has been pleased, for the better suppressing the present Rebellion, to order and appoint two Companies to be added to each Regiment of Foot, now in His Majesty's Service in Scotland, and to appoint each Company to be augmented to the Number of Fifty private Centinels: And since it must be evident to all well-affected People, that the strengthening and augmenting the Regular Troops, is the most effectual way for suppressing the Rebellion, and that the same will bring no Charge nor Burthen upon the Country; and that the Harvest is over, whereby many People that were that way employ'd, are now at Liberty. And in regard the Officers of the several Regiments are so employ'd in His Majesty's Service, that they cannot conveniently attend the Recruiting in this Country: I hereby intreat and require all well-affected Noblemen, Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Magistrates, Ministers of the Gospel, or other well-affected Subjects, to contribute their best Endeavours to persuade and encourage all the able-bodied and well-affected Men, in their respective Parochins in Town and Country, within Scotland, to enlist themselves in the Regular Forces. And I, in his Majesty's Name, do promise, that the Endeavours of such as shall be useful in this Matter, shall be looked upon as good Service, and intitle them to His Majesty's Favour and Protection. And for the Encouragement of such as shall enlist themselves

volum-

• voluntarily in Compliance herewith, I, in His
 • Majesty's Name, promise, that each Voluntier so
 • inlisting and incorporating himself in any of His
 • Majesty's Regiments of Foot now in *Scotland*,
 • shall not only receive His Majesty's Bounty Mo-
 • ney of Forty Shillings Sterling in Haand, but
 • shall, at the end of three Months, after the pre-
 • sent Rebellion is suppress'd, draw and receive his
 • Pass, discharging him from the Service, if he
 • require the same; each Man who shall so desire
 • to be discharged, always giving two Months Ad-
 • vertisement before drawing his Discharge, to the
 • commanding Officer of the Regiment for the
 • Time, to the effect he may provide another Man
 • in his room. And I appoint the Sheriffs and
 • Stewards of the several Sherifffdoms and Steward-
 • tries, and the Magistrates of Royal Boroughs,
 • forthwith to dispatch Copies hereof to the Mini-
 • sters of the several Parochins within their Juris-
 • diction, as they shall be answerable at their Peril.
 • And I appoint the same to be intimate at each
 • Paroch-Church from the Pulpit, after divine Ser-
 • vice, and before Dissolution of the Congregation,
 • on the Sabbath immediately after this, or a Copy
 • hereof comes to the respective Ministers Hands;
 • and do recommend to the several Ministers,
 • earnestly to exhort the People to their Duty in
 • this Matter, for the Service of their King and
 • Country.

Given at the Camp at Stirling, the 27th
 of October, 1715.

Sign'd

ARGYLE.

A few Days after, the Earl of Mar publish'd the
 following Counter-Order to that Order,

By

By John Earl of Mar, General and Commander in
Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

‘ **W** Hereas by the Laws of God, the Right of
‘ Blood, and the ancient Constitution of
‘ these Kingdoms, our Sovereign Lord *James* the
‘ Eighth, by the Grace of God, of *Scotland, Eng-*
‘ *land, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the
‘ Faith, &c. has the only undoubted Title to the
‘ Crown of these Realms: And whereas his Ma-
‘ jesty's Restoration is the only way left to retrieve
‘ the unhappy Consequences of the *Union*, dis-
‘ burthen the People of the heavy Taxes and Mort-
‘ gages they now groan under, and to prevent our
‘ Posterity from being involved in endless Miseries:
‘ And whereas many of his Majesty's loyal Sub-
‘ jects of all Ranks have dutifully assembled them-
‘ selves to the Royal Standard, in order to restore
‘ our rightful Sovereign to his Crown, and these
‘ Kingdoms to their ancient and independent State.
‘ And I having seen an Order publish'd by the
‘ Commander in Chief of the pretended King's
‘ Forces in this Kingdom, setting forth, That the
‘ Forces under his Command were to be augmented,
‘ and inviting *all able-bodied Men to enlist themselves*
‘ *in that Service*, and requiring *all Noblemen, Gen-*
‘ *tlemen, Justices of the Peace, Magistrates, Mini-*
‘ *sters of the Gospel*, and others, *to contribute their*
‘ *best Endeavours to persuade and encourage Men*
‘ thereunto: These are therefore in His Majesty's
‘ Name, prohibiting and discharging all Noblemen,
‘ Gentlemen; Justices of the Peace, Magistrates,
‘ Ministers of the Gospel, and all other Subjects
‘ whatsoever, to publish, execute, or obey the said
‘ Order, and that under the highest Pain.

‘ And whereas I have promis'd; in His Maje-
‘ sty's Name, Protection to all Ministers who be-
‘ have

• have themselves dutifully, and do not acknow-
 • ledge the Elector of *Brunswick* as King, by pray-
 • ing for him as such in their Churches and Congre-
 • gations, notwithstanding whereof several of them
 • continue in that Abuse: For preventing whereof,
 • and that they may not, by so doing, involve and
 • mislead innocent and ignorant People into Trai-
 • terous and Seditious Practices: These are there-
 • fore expressly prohibiting all Ministers, as well in
 • Churches as in Meeting-Houses, to acknowledge
 • the Elector of *Brunswick* as King, and that upon
 • their highest Peril: And all Officers Civil and
 • Military are hereby ordered to shut up the
 • Church-Doors, where the Ministers act in Con-
 • tempt hereof, and to apprehend their Persons;
 • and bring them Prisoners to the King's Camp,
 • wherever it shall be for the Time. And I do by
 • these Presents promise Protection to all such
 • Ministers as do behave themselves dutifully to-
 • wards his Majesty; and I appoint the Sheriffs
 • and Stewards of the several Sherifffdoms and Stew-
 • ardries, and the Magistrates of Royal Boroughs,
 • forthwith to dispatch Copies thereof to the Mini-
 • sters of the several Paroches within their Juris-
 • dictions, as they shall be answerable upon their
 • Peril: And I also appoint the same to be inti-
 • mate at each Parish-Church, by the Minister,
 • Procentor, or Reader, before divine Service, im-
 • mediately after the Minister enters the Pulpit,
 • on the Sabbath next after a Copy hereof comes to
 • their Hands.

Given at the Camp at Perth, the 1st
of November, 1715.

Perth, Printed by Mr. Robert
Fraser, 1715.

And

And thus for a while the two Generals fought with Pen, Ink, and Paper only : But we shall now come to several Actions of another Nature.

October the 20th, a certain Account was brought to *Edinburgh*, that a Body of the Western Highland Clans, consisting of 2300 Men commanded by General *Gordon*, came before *Inverrary* the chief Town in *Argyleshire*, and having that Night view'd the Place, march'd back to a Mill about half a Mile from the Town, and were soon after reinforced by 300 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men. The next Day they view'd the Town a second time, and again return'd to their former Quarters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and sent Detachments to cut Fashines, as if they designed to attack the Town. But finding that the Earl of *Ilay*, who commanded the Town, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their Quarters, and on the 24th left the Place, and marched thro' *Glenaxchy* in their way to join the Earl of *Mar*.

The preserving the Town of *Inverrary* was a considerable Piece of Service ; for had the Rebels been Masters of that important Pass, they might have pour'd in their Men, either towards *Glasgow*, or into the Shire of *Aire*, and must have been fought with, perhaps, to Disadvantage, as things then stood, or they would have joined the Rebels in the North of *England* at their pleasure.

The Earl of *Ilay*, who performed this, is Brother to the Duke of *Argyle* ; he is a Gentleman of known Bravery, witness not only his indefatigable Care to settle the Western Highlands, and the Preservation of this Place, but his Conduct and Courage at the Battle of *Dumblain*, where he was wounded, add to the Greatness of his Soul, ready to undergo the greatest Hardships to serve his King, and to face
the

the greatest Dangers that oppose his Country. I had the Honour to be educated under the same Tutor with him at the College of *Glasgow*, but have gone wide in my Principles from those equally infused into us.

October the 23d, the Duke of *Argyle* had notice that a Party of the Rebels, consisting of 200 Foot and 100 Horse, were marching by *Castle-Campbell* towards *Dumferling*. Upon this Intelligence, his Grace immediately sent off a Detachment of Dragoons, under the Command of Colonel *Catbcart*, who came up with the Rebels the 24th, at five o' Clock in the Morning; and after having killed and wounded several of them, took seventeen Prisoners; amongst them the following Gentlemen:

Mr. *Murray*, Brother to the Laird of *Aberkenny*.

Mr. *Hay*, Son to *Arboth*.

Mr. *Patrick Gordon*, *Abertour's* eldest Son.

Alexander Forbes, Son to *Bustie*.

William Robertson, Brother to *Donsbills*.

Mr. *Kenloch*, a Physician.

Alexander Smith.

Mr. *Alexander Gordon*.

Francis Gordon of *Craig*.

Mr. *Hamilton* of *Gibstoun* in *Strabogie*: And,

George Gordon of the *Miln* of *Kincardine*.

The same Evening Colonel *Catbcart* returned to the Camp at *Stirling* with his Prisoners. A few Days after, a Detachment sent by the Earl of *Hay* into *Lorn* to intercept about 400 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men, who were in Motion to join the Rebels, being come up with, and having surrounded them, obliged them to separate and return to their several Habitations.

By this time the Earl of *Mar* being joined by the Earl of *Seaforth*, Sir *Donald M'donald*, and others, with

with their respective Clans to the Number of 8000 Men, were preparing to march from *Perth*, to join General *Gordon* with the Western Clans at *Auchterarder*, in order to attempt the crossing the *Forth*, which was indeed his main Design. This was the 12th of *November*. Upon Intelligence of this March, for the Rebels advanc'd from *Perth* with their whole Army, the Duke of *Argyle* sent for a Train of Field-Artillery from *Edinburgh*; and having receiv'd all the Reinforcements he expected from *Ireland*, his Grace resolv'd not to suffer them to reach the Bank of *Forth*, but to fight them wherever he could come up with them. Accordingly he pass'd the *Forth* at *Stirling-Bridge* with his whole Army, and advanced towards *Dumblain*.

This occasion'd a general Engagement, or Battle, fought near *Dumblain*, at a Place called *Sheriff-Moor*, on *Sunday, November 13*. And for the Reader's better Information, I shall present him with an Account of that Action, as it is related by both Parties; that so, seeing each Party claims the Victory, he may judge whose it was by the Conclusion. The Accounts are thus; the first is that of Colonel *Harrison*, being sent Express to His Majesty by the Duke of *Argyle*, and who arrived at *St. James's* *Saturday* the 19th. The second Account is that of Major-General *Wightman*. The third Account is the Earl of *Mar's* Letter to Colonel *Balfour* Governor of *Perth*. And the fourth Account is the Earl of *Mar's* printed one.

Colonel Harrison's Account of the Victory.

THE Duke of *Argyle* being informed on the 12th, that the Rebels had come to *Auchterarder* with their Baggage, Artillery, and a sufficient quantity of Bread for a March of many Days, found he was obliged either to engage them on the Grounds near *Dumblain*, or to decamp and wait

their coming to the Head of *Forth*. He chose the first on many Accounts, and amongst others, that the Grounds near *Dumblain* were much more advantageous for his Horse, than those at the Head of the River; and besides this, by the Frost then beginning, the *Forth* might become passable in several Places, which the small Number of his Troops did not enable him to guard sufficiently. He likewise received Advice, that the 12th at Night the Rebels designed to encamp at *Dumblain*; upon which, judging it of Importance to prevent them by possessing that Place, he marched the 12th in the Forenoon, and encamped with his Left at *Dumblain*, and his Right towards the *Sheriff-Moor*; the Enemy that Night stopped within two Miles of *Dumblain*. Next Morning his Grace being inform'd by his advanc'd Guard that the Rebels were Forming, he rode to a rising Ground, where he viewed the Enemy distinctly, and found as they pointed their March, they designed strait upon our Flank. The *Moor* to our Right was the preceding Night unpassable, and guarded us from being flanked on that side, but by the Frost was become passable. His Grace therefore ordered his Troops to stretch to the Right in the following Order; three Squadrons of Dragoons upon Right and Left in the Front Line, and six Battalions of Foot in the Center. The second Line was compos'd of two Battalions in the Center, one Squadron on the Right, and another on their Left, and one Squadron of Dragoons behind each Wing of Horse in the first Line. As the Right of our Army came over-against the Left of the Rebels, which they had put to a Morass, his Grace finding they were not quite formed, gave Orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their Horse and Foot. They received us very briskly; but after some Resistance, were broke through, and were pursued above two Miles by five Squadrons of Dragoons, the Squadron of Volunteers, and five Battalions

lions of Foot. When we came near the River *Allan*, by the vast Number of Rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an entire Rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had Day-light. The pursuing to the River *Allan* had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent Attempts they had made to Form in different Places, which obliged us as often to attack and break them. When they were in part passed, and others passing the *Allan*, Major-General *Wightman*, who commanded the five Battalions of Foot, sent to acquaint the Duke of *Argyle* that he could not discover what was become of our Troops on the Left, and that a considerable Body of the Rebels Horse and Foot stood behind us. Upon that his Grace halted, formed his Troops in Order, and marched towards the Hill on which the Rebels had posted themselves. Thereafter his Grace extended his Right towards *Dumblain*, to give his Left an Opportunity of joining him. There we continued until it was late, and not finding our Left come up, his Grace marched slowly towards the Ground on which he had formed in the Morning. So soon as it was dark, the Rebels, who continued undispersed on the Top of the Hill, moved to *Ardoch*. About an Hour after, our Troops which had been separated from the Duke of *Argyle*, joined his Grace. Our Dragoons on the Left, in the Beginning of the Action, charged some of their Horse on the Right, and carried off a Standard; but at the same time the Rebels pressed so hard on our Battalions on the Left, that they were disorder'd, and oblig'd to fall in amongst the Horse. The Rebels by this means cut off the Communication betwixt our Left and the other Body; and they being informed a Body of the Rebels were endeavouring to get to *Stirling*, the Troops of our Left retired beyond *Dumblain*, to possess themselves of the Passes leading there. We have as yet no certain Account of

the Numbers killed, but it's reckoned they may be about 800, amongst whom there are several Persons of Distinction. The Quality of Prisoners is not yet fully known, only that the Viscount of *Strathballan*, two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, nine Captains, besides Subalterns, are brought to *Stirling*. We have likewise carried off fourteen Colours and Standards, four Pieces of Cannon, Tombrells, with Ammunition, and all their Bread-Waggon. This Victory was not obtained without the Loss of some brave Men on our Side; the Earl of *Forfar's* Wounds are so many that his Life is despair'd of. The Earl of *Ilay*, who came half an Hour before the Action, received two Wounds, the one in his Arm, and the other in his Side; but the Bullet being cut out of his Side, it is hoped he is past Danger. General *Evans* received a Cut in the Head. Colonel *Hawley* was shot through the Body; but there is hopes of his Recovery. Colonel *Lawrence* is taken. Colonel *Hammers*, and Captain *Armstrong*, *Aid de Camp* to the Duke of *Argyle*, are killed. The Courage of the King's Troops were never keener than on this Occasion; who, though the Rebels were three times the Number, yet attacked and pursued them with all the Resolution imaginable. The Conduct and Bravery of the Generals and inferior Officers contributed much to this Success: But above all, the great Example of his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, whose Presence not only gave Spirit to the Action, but gained Success as often as he led on. The Troop of Horse Volunteers, which consisted of Noblemen and Gentlemen of Distinction, shewed their Quality by the Gallantry of their Behaviour; in a particular manner the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Lords *Rothies*, *Haddingtoun*, *Lauderdale*, *Loudoun*, *Belhaven*, and Sir *John Shaw*.

A LIST of the Officers and Soldiers killed, wounded, or missing, in the Battle of Sheriff-Moor, of the Troops under the Duke of Argyle.

Of Portmore's Regiment :

CAPTAIN *Roberson*, and a Quarter-Master wounded: Two Dragoons killed, and four wounded.

Of Evans's Regiment :

Captain *Farrer* his Thigh-bone broke: Colonel *Hawley* shot through the Shoulder: A Cornet, and a few private Men kill'd.

Of Lord Forfar's Regiment :

Himself shot in the Knee, and cut in the Head with 10 or 12 Strokes from their Broad-Swords after Quarter: Ensign *Branch*, and eight private Men kill'd.

Of Wightman's Regiment :

Ensign *Mark* wounded: Two Grenadiers, and two or three Men kill'd.

Of Shannon's Regiment :

Captain *Arnot* kill'd, and five or six Men kill'd and wounded. These, with a Squadron of *Stair's* Dragoons, were the Troops that composed the Right, and beat the Rebels.

On the Left,

Of Morrison's Regiment :

Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamar*, two Captains, four Lieutenants, and three Ensigns missing, with a good many private Men.

Of Montague's Regiment :

Lieutenant-Colonel *Laurence*, Captain *Umbell*,
Captain *Bernard*, missing ; and a good many pri-
vate Men kill'd.

Of Clayton's Regiment :

Captain *Barlow* kill'd.

Of the Fusileers.

Captain *Chiesly*, Lieutenant *Hay* and Lieutenant
Michelson missing, and said to be taken, and Cap-
tain *Urqbart* wounded.

Of Egerton's Regiment :

Captain *Dancoer* wounded, and a few private Men
kill'd.

*A particular LIST of the Names of the Gentlemen
Prisoners, brought to the Castle of Stirling the 14th
of November.*

LORD *Stratballan.*
Barrowfield.

Logie Drummond.

Mr. Murray of Auchtertyre.

Mr. Thomas Drummond, Brother to the Viscount of
Stratballan.

Mr. Drummond of Drumquhary.

Captain William Creighton.

Mr. John Ross, Son to the Archbishop of *St. An-*
drew's.

Mr. Nairn of Baldwale.

Mr. William Hay.

John Gordon, Captain.

William Forbes, Lieutenant.

Archibald Forbringham, Lieutenant.

Alexander

Donald M'nauchtie.

Ewan M'lacklan.

Ewan M'donald.

Donald Robertson.

James Keoch.

Thomas Robertson.

Alexander Morison.

Andrew Jamison.

*Captain Charles Chalmers, late of the Foot
Guards, one of the Earl of Mar's Majors.*

Robert Miller.

Adam Grinsell.

Angus Steuart.

John Robertson.

John Cattinach.

*John Ricbie, Mer-
chant in Edinburgh.*

Major-General Wightman's Account of the Battle.

Stirling, Nov. 14, 1715, at 11 at Night.

LAST Friday I arriv'd from *Edinburgh*, where I had finish'd all the Works and Barricadoes that I had Orders to do for the Security of that Town; and as soon as I came to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, he told me he was glad to see me, and that as he intended to make a March towards the Enemy the next Morning, he had sent an Express to *Edinburgh* for me. Accordingly on *Saturday* the 12th instant, our whole Army march'd over the Bridge of *Stirling* towards the Enemy, who lay at a Place call'd *Ardoch*, about seven Miles from this Place, and in the Evening our Army came within about three Miles of the Enemy's Camp. We lay all that Night on our Arms, and the next Morning being *Sunday*, by break of Day I went with his Grace where our advanc'd Guard was posted, and had a plain View of the Rebels Army, all drawn up in Line of Battel, which consisted of 9000 and 100 Men. They seem'd to make a Motion towards us: Upon which the Duke ordered me immediately back, to put our Men in Order; and soon after his Grace order'd them to march to the Top of a Hill against the Enemy: But before all, or not above half

half our Army was form'd in Line of Battel, the Enemy attack'd us. The Right of their Line, which vastly out-wing'd us, lay in a hollow Way, which was not perceived by us, nor possible for us to know it, the Enemy having Possession of the Brow of the Hill; but the Left of their Army was very plain to our View. The Moment we got to the Top of the Hill, not above half of our Men were come up, or could form; the Enemy, that were within little more than Pistol-shot, began the Attack with all their Left upon our Right. I had the Command of the Foot: The Enemy were Highlanders, and, as it is their Custom, gave us Fire; and a great many came up to our Noses Sword in Hand; but the Horse on our Right, with the constant Fire of the Platoons of Foot, soon put the Left of their Army to the Rout, the Duke of *Argyle* pursuing, as he thought, the Main of their Army, which he drove before him above a Mile and a half over a River. As I march'd after him as fast as I could with a little above three Regiments of Foot, I heard great Firing on our Left, and sent my Aid-de-Camp to see the occasion of it, and found that the Right of the Enemy's Army that lay in the hollow Way, and was superior to that Part of their Army which we had beaten, was fallen upon the Left of our Line with all the Fury imaginable; and as our Men were not form'd, they cut off just the Half of our Foot, and our Squadrons on our Left. The Duke, who pursued the Enemy very fast, was not apprized of this; and as he had ordered me to march as fast as I could after him, I was oblig'd to slacken my March, and send to his Grace to inform him of what had happen'd. I kept what Foot I had in perfect Order, not knowing but my Rear might soon be attack'd by the Enemy that had beat our Left, which prov'd to be the Flower of their Army. At last, when the Duke had put to Flight that Part

of the Rebel-Army he was engag'd with, he came back to me, and could not have imagin'd to see such an Army as was behind us, being three times our Number; but as I had kept that Part of our Foot which first engaged in very good Order, his Grace join'd me with five Squadrons of Dragoons, and we put the best Face on the Matter to the Right about, and so march'd to the Enemy, who had defeated all the Left of our Army. If they had had either Courage or Conduct they might have entirely destroy'd my Body of Foot; but it pleas'd God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture their Spirits were not a little damp'd by having been Witnesses some Hours before of the firm Behaviour of my Foot, and thought it hardly possible to break us. We march'd in a Line of Battel till we came within half a Mile of the Enemy, and found them ranged at the Top of a Hill on very advantageous Ground, and above 4000 in Number. We posted ourselves at the Bottom of the Hill, having the Advantage of Ground, where their Horse could not well attack us, for we had the Convenience of some Earth-walls or Ditches about Breast-high; and as Evening grew on, we inclined with our Right towards the Town of *Dumblain* in all the Order that was possible. The Enemy behav'd like civil Gentlemen, and let us do what we pleas'd; so that we pass'd the Bridge of *Dumblain*, posted ourselves very securely, and lay on our Arms all Night. This Morning we went with a Body of Dragoons to the Field of Battel, brought off the wounded Men, and came to this Town in the Evening. General *Webb's* late Regiment, now *Morrison's*, is one of the unfortunate Regiments that were not form'd, and suffer'd most. Major *Hamar* is kill'd, with young *Hillary*, and many other Officers. General *Evans* and I had the good Fortune to be on the Right Wing with the Duke. General
Evans

Evans had his Horse shot dead under him, and escaped very narrowly, as well as myself.

P. S. Our whole Army did not consist of above a Thousand Dragoons, and two Thousand five Hundred Foot; and but a little more than Half of them engaged. However I must do the Enemy that Justice to say, *I never saw Regular Troops more exactly drawn up in Line of Battle, and that in a Moment; and their Officers behaved with all the Gallantry imaginable.* All I can say is, *It will be of the last Danger to the Government, if we have not Force to destroy them soon.* The Loss on both Sides I leave for another Time, when we have a more exact Account.

The Earl of Mar's Letter to Colonel Balfour, Governor of Perth.

Ardoch, Nov. 13. 1715.

I Thought you would be anxious to know the Fate of this Day. We attack'd the Enemy on the End of the *Sheriff-Moor* at Twelve of the Clock this Day, on our Right and Centre; carried the Day entirely; pursued them down to a little Hill on the South of *Dumblain*; and there I got most of our Horse, and a pretty good Number of our Foot, and brought them again into some Order. We knew not then what was become of our Left, so we return'd to the Field of Battle. We discern'd a Body of the Enemy on the North of us, consisting mostly of the Grey Dragoons, and some of the Black. We also discover'd a Body of their Foot farther North upon the Field, where we were in the Morning; and East of that, a Body, as we thought, of our own Foot, and I still believe it was so. I form'd the Horse and Foot with me in a Line on the

the North Side of the Hill where we had engaged, and kept our Front towards the Enemy to the North of us, who seem'd at first, as if they intended to march towards us; but upon our forming, and marching towards them, they halted, and march'd back to *Dumblain*. Our Baggage and Train-Horses had all run away in the beginning of the Action: But we got some Horses, and brought off most of the Train to this Place, where we quarter to Night about *Ardoch*, whither we march'd in very good Order: And had our Left and Second Line behav'd as our Right, and the rest of the first Line did, our Victory had been compleat: But another Day is coming for that, and I hope e'er long too.

I send you a List of the Officers Names who are Prisoners here, besides those who are dangerously wounded, and could not come along, whose Words of Honour were taken. Two of these are the Earl of *Forfar*, who I'm afraid will die, and Captain *Urquhart* of *Buris-Yard*, who is very ill wounded. We have also a good Number of private Men Prisoners; but the Number I do not exactly know.

We have lost, to our Regret, the Earl of *Strathmore*, and the Captain of *Clan-Ranald*. Some are missing; but their Fate we are not sure of.

The Earl of *Panmure*, *Drummond* of *Logie*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Maclean*, are wounded. This is all that I have to say now, but that I am,

Yours, &c.

M A R,

P. S. We have taken a great many of the Enemy's Arms.

Mon.

Montague's Regiment :

Lieutenant-Colonel *Albert Lawrence*,
Captain *John Edwards*.

Clayton's :

Captain *William Barlow*,
Lieutenant *Edward Gibson*,
Captain *Michael Moret*.

Lord Mark Ker's :

Captain *Walter Cbeisly*.

Earl Orrery's :

Lieutenant *Thomas Mitchelson*, *Hay*, and *Richard Henerway*.

Brigadier Morrison's :

Ensign *Justin Holdman*, since dead ; *Glenkenny*,
and a good Number of private Men and Arms.

*The following Letter was written three Days after the
Battle, by the Governor of Brunt-Island.*

Nov. 16. 1715.

THIS Morning we had the following Particulars by Letters from the Governor of *Perth*, and Mr. *Mark Wood*, Dean of *Guild* there, viz. That one Hundred and ten private Men were brought Prisoners to *Perth* Yesterday, with ten Officers. The Enemy lost on the Spot above eight Hundred Men ; and of ours, there is not above sixty private Men killed, but several of our Officers are taken. We have got forty good Horses, and one Thousand five Hundred Stand of the Enemy's Arms. Upon Receipt of this News the Governor acquainted the Magistrates, whereupon they

• they went to Church, and thank'd God for the
• Victory.

*An Account of the Engagement on the Sheriff-Moor
near Dumblain, Novem. 13. 1715. betwixt the
King's Army, commanded by the Earl of Mar, and
the Duke of B——k's commanded by Argyle.*

THere being various and different Reports industriously spread abroad, to cover the Victory obtained by the King's Army over the Enemy; the best way to set it in a clear Light, is to narrate the true Matter of Fact, and leave it to the World to judge impartially thereof.

Thursday, Nov. 10. The Earl of *Mar* review'd the Army at *Auchterarder*.

Friday 11. Rested.

Saturday 12. The Earl of *Mar* order'd Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, and Brigadier *Ogilvie*, with three Squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley*, and the Master of *Sinclair's* five Squadrons of Horse, and all the Clans, to march and take Possession of *Dumblain*, which was order'd to be done two Days before, but was delay'd by some Interruptions; and all the rest of the Army was order'd at the same time, to parade upon the Moor of *Tullibardine* very early, and to march after General *Gordon*. The Earl of *Mar* went to *Drummond-Castle* to meet with my Lord *Broadalbin*, and ordered General *Hamilton* to march the Army. Upon the March, General *Hamilton* had Intelligence of a Body of the Enemy's having taken Possession of *Dumblain*, which Account he sent immediately to the Earl of *Mar*. A little after, General *Hamilton* had another Express from General *Gordon*, who was then about two Miles to the Westward of *Ardoch*, that he had Intelligence of a great Body of the Enemy's being in *Dumblain*; upon which General *Hamilton* drew up the Army,

so as the Ground at the *Roman* Camp near *Ardoch* would allow. A very little after, the Earl of *Mar* came up to the Army, and not hearing any more from Lieutenant General *Gordon*, who was marched on, judg'd it to be only some small Party of the Enemy to disturb our March, ordered the Guards to be posted, and the Army to their Quarters, with Orders to assemble upon the Parade, any time of the Night or Day; upon the firing of three Cannon. A little after the Army was dismiss'd, the Earl of *Mar* had an Account from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, that he had certain Intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* being at *Dumblain* with his whole Army. Upon which the General was order'd to halt, till the Earl should come up to him, and ordered the three Guns to be fired; upon which the Army form'd immediately, and march'd up to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* at *Kinbuck*, where the whole Army lay under Arms, with Guards advanc'd from each Squadron and Battalion till break of Day.

Sunday the 13th, The Earl of *Mar* gives Orders for the whole Army to form on the Moor, to the Left of the Road that leads to *Dumblain*, fronting to *Dumblain*; the General Persons were ordered to their Posts. The *Stirling* Squadron with the King's Standard, and two Squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley's*, form'd the Right of the first Line of Horse. All the Clans form'd the Right of the first Line of Foot; the *Pertshire* and *Fifehire* Squadrons form'd the Left of the first Line of Horse; the Earl *Marshal's* Squadron on the Right of the second Line, three Battalions of the Marquis of *Seaforth's* Foot, two Battalions of my Lord *Huntley's*, the Earl of *Panmure's*, the Marquis of *Tullibardine's*, the Battalions of *Drummond*, commanded by the Viscount of *Strathallan* and *Logie Almond*, the Battalion of *Strowan*, and the *Angus* Squadron of Horse form'd the second Line. When the Army was forming,

forming, we discover'd some small Number of the Enemy on the Height of the West End of the *Sheriff-Muir*, which looks into *Dumblain*; from which Place they had a full View of our Army. The Earl of *Mar* call'd a Council of War, consisting of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, General Officers, and Heads of the Clans, which was held in the Front of the Horse on the Left, where it was voted to fight the Enemy, *Nemine Contradicente*. Upon which, the Earl of *Mar* order'd the Earl *Marshal*, Major-General of the Horse, with his own Squadron, and Sir *Donald Mac-Donald's* Battalion, to march up to the Height where we saw the Enemy, and dislodge them, and send an Account of their Motions and Dispositions. No sooner the Earl *Marshal* begun his March, but the Enemy disappear'd, and the Earl of *Mar* order'd the Army to march up after them. By the other Generals Orders, the Lines march'd off the Right, divided in the Center, and march'd up the Hill in four Lines. After marching about a Quarter of a Mile, the Earl of *Marischal* sent back an Account that they discover'd the Enemy forming their Line very near him, to the *South* of the Top of the Hill; upon which the Army, particularly the Horse, was order'd to march up very quickly, and form to the Enemy; but by the breaking of their Lines in marching off, they fell in some Confusion in the forming, and some of the second Line jumbled into the first, on or near the Left, and some of the Horse form'd near the Center, which seems to have been the Occasion that the Enemy's few Squadrons on the Right were not routed as the rest.

The Earl of *Mar* plac'd himself at the Head of the Clans, and finding the Enemy only forming their Line; thought fit to attack them in that Posture; he sent Colonel *William Clepham*, Adjutant-General to the Marquis of *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General
of

of the Horse on the Right, and to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* on the Right of the Right of the Foot, and Major *David Erskine*, one of his Aids-de-Camp, to the Left, with Orders to march up and attack immediately : And upon their Return, pulling off his Hat, wav'd it with a Huzza, and advanc'd to the Front of the Enemy's form'd Battalions ; upon which, all the Line to the Right, being of the Clans, led on by Sir *Donald Mac-Donald's* Brothers, *Glengary*, Captain of *Clan-Ranald*, Sir *John Maclean*, *Glenco Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Colonel of *Broadalbin's*, and Brigadier *Ogilvy* of *Boyne*, with Colonel *Gordon* of *Glenback*, at the Head of *Huntley's* Battalions, made a most furious Attack, so that in seven or eight Minutes, we could neither perceive the Form of a Squadron, or Battalion of the Enemy before us. We drove the main Body and Left of the Enemy, in this manner, for about half a Mile, killing and taking Prisoners all that we could overtake. The Earl of *Mar* endeavoured to stop our Foot, and put them in some Order to follow the Enemy, which we saw making off in some small Bodies, from a little Hill below, towards *Dumblain*, where the Earl of *Mar* resolved to follow them to compleat the Victory : When an Account was brought him that our Left, and most of our second Line had given way, and the Enemy was pursuing them down the back of the Hill, and had taken our Artillery ; immediately the Earl of *Mar* gave Orders for the Horse to wheel, and having put the Foot in Order, as fast as could be, march'd back with them. When he was again near the Top of the Hill, two Squadrons of the Enemy's Grey Dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the Top of the Hill, and saw us advancing in order to attack them, they made much faster down the Hill than they came up, and joined at the Foot of the Hill to a small Squadron or two

of the Black Dragoons, and a small Battalion of Foot, which we judged had march'd about the West End of the Hill, and join'd them. At first they again seem'd to form on the Low Ground, and advanc'd towards us ; but when they saw us marching down the Hill upon them, they fled very speedily to *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar* remain'd possess'd of the Field of Battle, and our own Artillery, and stood upon the Ground till Sun-set ; and then, considering that the Army had no Cover or Victuals the Night before, and none to be had nearer than *Braco*, *Ardoch*, and Adjacents, whereby his Lordship expected the Left to rally, and the Battalions of the Lord *George Murray*, *Innerness*, *Mac-Pherson*, and *Mac-Gregor*, to join him, resolved to draw off the Artillery, and march the Army to that Place, where were some Provisions ; there were two Carriages of the Guns broke, which we left on the Road. But these Battalions did not join us till the next Day Afternoon, before which the Enemy was return'd to *Stirling*.

We took the Earl of *Forfar*, who was dangerously wounded, Colonel *Lawrence*, and ten or twelve Captains and Subalterns, and about 200 Serjeants and private Men, and the Laird of *Glenkindy*, one of the Volunteers, four Colours, several Drums, and about 14 or 1500 Stands of Arms. We compute that there lay kill'd in the Field of Battle about 7 or 800 of the Enemy ; and this is certain, that there lay dead upon the Field of Battle above fifteen of the Enemy to one of ours : Besides the Number of the Wounded must be very great.

The Prisoners taken by us were very civilly us'd, and none of them stript. Some are allow'd to return to *Stirling* upon their Parole, and the Officers have the Liberty of the Town of *Perth*. The few Prisoners taken by the Enemy on our Left, were most of them stript and wounded, after taken. The Earl

Earl of *Panmure* being first of the Prisoners wounded after taken ; they having refus'd his Parole, he was left in a Village, and by the hasty Retreat of the Enemy, upon the Approach of our Army, was rescu'd by his Brother and his Servants, and carried off.

Monday 14. The Earl of *Mar* drew out the Army early in the Morning, on the same Field at *Ardoch* they were on the Day before. About Eleven o'Clock we perceived some Squadrons of the Enemy on the Top of the Hill, near the Field of Battle, which march'd over the Top of the Hill, and a little after we had an Account of their marching to *Stirling*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* march'd back with his Army, who continued about *Auchterarder*.

Tuesday 15. Rested.

Wednesday 16. The Earl of *Mar* left General *Hamilton* with the Horse, to Canton about *Duplin*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, and the rest of the Foot about *Forgan* and Adjacents, and went into *Perth* himself to order Provisions for the Army ; the want of which, was the Reason of his returning to *Perth*.

Thursday 17. The Earl of *Mar* order'd General *Hamilton* to march with the Horse, and some of the Foot to *Perth*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, to Canton about that Place.

After writing the former Narrative, we have Account from *Stirling*, that the Enemy lost 1200 Men, and after Enquiry we can't find above 60 of our Men in all kill'd, among whom were the Earl of *Strathmore*, the Captain of Clan *Ranald*, both much lamented. *Auchterhouse* is missing. Very few of our Men are wounded.

It was reported that one *Drummond* an Officer in *Argyle's* Army went to *Perth* under the Notion of a Defenter, and communicated his Mind to my Lord *Drummond*, who made him his *Aid-de-Camp*; and that at the Battle of *Dumblain* he was attending the Earl of *Mar* to receive his Orders. When the Earl of *Mar* thought that his right Wing was like to defeat *Argyle's* Left, he dispatch'd the said Mr. *Drummond* to General *Hamilton* (who commanded the Left of the Earl of *Mar's* Army) with Orders to attack the Enemy briskly, for he was like to have the best on the Right; but that Mr. *Drummond*, instead of delivering the said Order, gave the direct contrary Orders to General *Hamilton*, and told him, That the Earl of *Mar* was worsted on the Right, and desired him to retire with all haste with as good Order as possible. Upon which General *Hamilton* gave Order to halt, which was obeyed; then the Right of the Duke of *Argyle's* Army approaching them, the most part of them gave way without firing a Gun; and those that stood, were for the most part Gentlemen and Officers, who were severely galled by the Duke of *Argyle* and his Right Wing; so that many of them were killed on the Spot, and others taken Prisoners: And that Mr. *Drummond*, after he gave the aforesaid Orders to General *Hamilton*, deserted to the Duke of *Argyle's* Side. But this I do not affirm for a Truth.

There was another Thing very observable in that Day's Service, viz. That one *Robert Roy Mac-Grigor*, alias *Campbell*, a noted Gentleman in former Times for Bravery, Resolution, and Courage, was with his Men and Followers within a very little Distance from the Earl of *Mar's* Army, and when he was desired by a Gentleman of his own to go and assist his Friends, he answer'd, *If, they could not do it without me, they should not do it with me*: That is, If they could not conquer their Enemies without

out him, he should not assist them in the doing of it.

This Engagement being over, News was brought that the Earl of *Sutherland* with Three or Four Thousand Men, of whom One Thousand are his own, Five Hundred of the *Ross's*, Five Hundred of the *Frazer's*, under the Command of the Lord *Lovet* their Chief, Three Hundred *Mackay's*, Three Hundred *Forbes's*, and Three Hundred *Monroe's*, march'd directly towards *Inverness*, before which Place they came the 10th of *November*, and summoned the Governor Sir *John Mackenzie*, who, with about Three Hundred of his Name, held it for the Earl of *Seaforth*, and refused to surrender, retiring to the Castle; out of which he retreated, and upon the 12th they took Possession of the Town and Castle. This Town was of no small Interest to the King's Forces; for it is commodiously seated, where formerly *Oliver Cromwell* built a strong Fort: This Place can Muster above Five Hundred stout Men upon any Occasion.

The Fact in general was true, tho' the Persons were wrong named in the Account, the E. of *Sutherland* not being in the Action, or any of his Men. However, I say, the Town was taken, and the Loss of this Important Place was no small Affliction to the Earl of *Mar* and his Party, who, with his remaining Forces, after his Disappointment at *Sheriff-Moor*, retired to *Perth*, and the Duke of *Argyle* to *Stirling*, where both continued quiet the remaining Part of *November*, and all the next Month; during which time 6000 *Dutch* Foot, lately landed from *Holland*, were in several Detachments marching with the utmost Expedition, and by long Marches, to reinforce the Duke of *Argyle's* Army. Besides these Forces, the General ordered a Set of General Officers to be sent to him; for the directing the Troops, which indeed

were much wanted. These were Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, Generals *Whetbam*, *Wightman*, *Evans*, *Stanwix*, and *Grant*. Major-General *Sabine* arrived there also from *Ireland*.

The 22d of this Month the *Pretender* landed within a few Miles of *Aberdeen*; from thence he marched to *Scoon**, two Miles from *Pertb*, where he issued out several Proclamations; one for a general Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival, another for praying for him in the Churches, a third for the Currency of all Foreign Coins, a fourth for summoning a Meeting of the Convention of States, a fifth for Arming all sensible Men from Sixteen to Sixty, and ordering them to repair to his Royal Standard. He likewise sent this Declaration to be published by all Ministers in their Parish Churches, which those in the North of *Scotland* did accordingly.

His Majesty's most Gracious Declaration.

James R.

JAMES the 8th, by the Grace of God, of *Scotland*, *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith; to all our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting.

As We are firmly resolved never to lose an Opportunity of asserting our undoubted Title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, and of endeavouring to get the Possession of that Right which is devolved upon us by the Law of God and Man; so We must in Justice to the Sentiments of our own Hearts declare, That nothing in the World can give us so great Satisfaction, as to owe to the Endeavours of our loyal Subjects, both our own and

* The Place where the Kings of *Scotland* are usually Crown'd. Here the old Marble Chair, now in *Westminster*, stood.

their

their Restoration to that happy Settlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the Calamities which they at present lye under, and those future Miseries which may be the Consequences of the present Usurpation ; during the Life of our dear Sister, of glorious Memory, the Happiness which our People enjoy'd, softned in some degree the Hardship of our own Fate ; and we must confess, that when we reflected on the Goodness of her Nature, and her Inclination to Justice, we could not but persuade ourself, that she intended to establish and perpetuate the Peace which she had given to these Kingdoms, by destroying for ever all Competitions to the Succession of the Crown, and by securing to Us, at last, the Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of which we had been so long kept ; which her Conscience must inform her was our due, and which her Principles must bend her to desire that we might obtain.

But since the time it pleased Almighty God to put a Period to her Life, and not to suffer Us to throw our self, as we then fully purposed to have done upon our People, we have not been able to look upon the present Condition of our Kingdoms, or to consider their future Prospect, without all the Horror and Indignation which ought to fill the Breast of every *Scotchman*.

We have beheld a Foreign Family, Aliens to our Country, distant in Blood, and Strangers even to our Language, ascend the Throne.

We have seen the Reins of Government put into the Hands of a Faction ; and that Authority which was designed for the Protection of all, exercised by a few of the worst, to the Oppression of the best and greatest Number of our Subjects. Our Sister has not been left to rest in her Grave, her Name has been scurrilously abused, her Glory, as far as in these People lay, insolently defaced, and her faith-

ful Servants inhumanly persecuted ; a Parliament has been procured by the most unwarrantable Influences, and by the grossest Corruptions, to serve the vilest Ends ; and they who ought to be the Guardians of the Liberties of the People, are become the Instances of Tyranny, whilst the principal Powers engag'd in the late Wars, enjoy the Blessings of Peace, and are attentive to discharge their Debts and ease the People. *Great-Britain* in the midst of Peace, feels all the load of War : New Debts are contracted, new Armies are rais'd at Home, *Dutch* Forces are brought into these Kingdoms, and by taking Possession of the Dutchy of *Bremen*, in violation of the Publick Faith, a Door is opened by the Usurper, to let in an Inundation of Foreigners from Abroad, and to reduce these Nations to the state of a Province to one of the most inconsiderable Provinces of the Empire.

There are some few of the many real Evils into which these Kingdoms have been betray'd, under pretence of being rescued and secured from Dangers purely imaginary ; and these are such Consequences of abandoning the old Constitution, as we persuade ourselves very many of those who promoted the present unjust and illegal Settlement, never intended.

We observe, with the utmost Satisfaction, That the generality of our Subjects are awakened with a just Sense of their Danger, and that they shew themselves dispos'd to take such Measures as may effectually rescue them from that Bondage, which has, by the Artifice of a few designing Men, and by the Concurrence of many unhappy Causes, been brought upon them.

We adore the Wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a Way to our Restoration, by the Success of those very Measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever ; and we most earnestly conjure all our loving Subjects, not to suffer that Spirit

to

to faint or die away, which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of the Kingdom; but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes of Success, which so just and righteous a Cause ought to inspire, those Methods which the Finger of God seems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all Dangers and Difficulties to which any of our Subjects, from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed on this important Occasion; to relieve our Subjects of *Scotland* from the Hardships they groan under on account of the late unhappy Union; and to restore the Kingdom to its ancient, free and independent State.

We have before our Eyes the Example of our Royal Grandfather, who fell a Sacrifice to Rebellion; and of our Royal Uncle, who by a train of Miracles escaped the Rage of the barbarous and Blood-thirsty Rebels, and lived to exercise his Clemency towards those who had waged War against his Father and himself; who had driven him to seek shelter in Foreign Lands, and who had even set a Price upon his Head.

We see the same Instances of Cruelty renewed against us, by Men of the same Principles, without any other Reason than the Consciousness of their own Guilt, and the implacable Malice of their own Hearts; for in the account of such Men it is a Crime sufficient to be born their King: But God forbid, that we should tread in those Steps, or that the Cause of a lawful Prince, and an injured People, should be carried on like that of Usurpation and Tyranny, and owe its Support to Assassins. We shall Copy after the Patterns above-mention'd, and be ready with the former of our Royal Ancestors, to Seal the Cause of our Country, if such be the Will of Heaven, with our Blood; but we hope for better Things. We hope with the latter to see our
just

just Rights, and those of the Church and People of *Scotland*, once more settled in a free and independent *Scots* Parliament, on their Ancient Foundation ; to such a Parliament which We will immediately call, shall we entirely refer both our and their Interests, being sensible that these Interests, rightly understood, are always the same. Let the Civil as well as Religious Rights of all our Subjects receive their Confirmation in such a Parliament ; let Consciences truly tender be indulged ; let Property of every kind be better than ever secured ; let an Act of general Grace and Amnesty extinguish the Fears even of the most Guilty, if possible ; let the very Remembrance of all that has preceded this happy Moment, be utterly blotted out, that our Subjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the strictest Bonds of Affection as well as Interest.

And that nothing may be omitted which is in our Power to contribute to this desirable End, We do by these Presents absolutely and effectually, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, pardon, remit, and discharge all Crimes of High-Treason, Misprision of Treason, and all other Crimes and Offences whatsoever, done or committed against Us, or Our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, by any of Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever ; who shall at or after our Landing, and before they engage in any Action against Us, or Our Forces, from that time lay hold on Mercy, and return to that Duty and Allegiance which they owe to Us their only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign.

By the joint Endeavours of Us and Our Parliaments, urged by these Motives, and directed by these Views, We may hope to see the Peace and flourishing Estates of this Kingdom, in a short time, restored ; And We shall be equally forward to concert with Our Parliaments, such further Measures as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future Generations. And

And We hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewartries, or their Deputies, and Magistrates of Burghs, to publish this Our Declaration, immediately after it shall come to their Hands, in the usual Places and Manner, under the Pain of being proceeded against for Failure thereof, and forfeiting the Benefit of Our General Pardon.

Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at Our Court of *Commercy*, the 25th Day of *October*, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

He was here Addressed by the Episcopal Clergy in the Diocese of *Aberdeen*, and from the Magistrates of the said City, which, with his Answers are as follow:

It is to be observed, That only Two Presbyterian Ministers in all Scotland complied to Pray for the Pretender, and were afterwards turn'd out by the General Assembly; and only Two Episcopal Ministers Prayed for His Majesty King GEORGE.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Address of the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen, presented to His Majesty by the Reverend Doctors James and George Gardens, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Dunbreck, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Maitland, at Fetterossie, the 29th of December, 1715. Introduc'd by His Grace the Duke of Mar, and the Right Honourable the Earl Marshal of Scotland.

S I R,

WE Your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of *Aberdeen*, do, from our Hearts, render Thanks to Almighty God for your Majesty's safe and happy

happy Arrival into this your Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, where your Royal Presence was so much longed for, and so necessary to animate your Loyal Subjects, our noble and generous Patriots, to go on with that invincible Courage and Resolution which they have hitherto so successfully exerted, for the Recovery of the Rights of their King and Country, and to excite many others of your good Subjects to join them, who only wanted this great Encouragement.

We hope, and pray that God may open the Eyes of such of your Subjects, as malicious and self-designing Men have industriously blinded with Prejudices against your Majesty, as if the Recovery of your just Rights would ruin our Religion, Liberties, and Property, which by the overturning of these Rights have been highly encroached upon; and we are persuaded, that your Majesty's Justice and Goodness will settle and secure those just Privileges, to the Conviction of your most malicious Enemies.

Almighty God has been pleased to train up your Majesty from your Infancy in the School of the Cross, in which the Divine Grace inspires the Mind with true Wisdom and Virtue, and guards it against those false Blandishments by which Prosperity corrupts the Heart: And as this School has sent forth the most illustrious Princes, as *Moses*, *Joseph*, and *David*; so we hope the same infinitely Wise and Good God designs to make your Majesty, not only a Blessing to your own Kingdoms, and a true Father of them, but also a great Instrument of the general Peace and Good of Mankind.

Your Princely Virtues are such, that, in the Esteem of the best Judges, you are worthy to wear a Crown, tho' you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your Majesty's Care to make your Subjects a happy People, and so to secure them in their Religion, Liberties, and Property,

Property, as to leave no just Ground of Distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the Practice of the Primitive Christians.

We adore the Goodness of God, in preserving your Majesty amidst the many Dangers to which you have been exposed, notwithstanding the Hellish Contrivances formed against you, for encouraging Assassins to Murder your sacred Person ; a Practice abhorred by the very Heathens. May the same merciful Providence continue still to protect your Majesty, to prosper your Arms, to turn the Hearts of all the People towards you, to subdue those who resist your just Pretensions, to establish you on the Throne of your Ancestors, to grant you a long and happy Reign, to bless you with a Royal Progeny, and at last with an Immortal Crown of Glory. And as it has been, still is, and shall be our Care, to imprint into the Minds of the People, true Principles of Loyalty to your Majesty : So this is the earnest Prayer of,

(May it please Your Majesty)

Your Majesty's most faithful,

Most dutiful, and

Most humble Subjects

And Servants.

To which Address his (pretended) Majesty was pleased to give the following Answer.

I Am very sensible of the Zeal and Loyalty you have expressed for me, and shall be glad to have Opportunities of giving you Marks of my Favour and Protection.

The

*The Address of the Magistrates and Citizens of
Aberdeen to the Pretender.*

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

WE your ever loyal and dutiful Subjects the Magistrates, Town-Council, and other your Majesty's loyal Subjects Citizens of *Aberdeen*, do heartily congratulate your Arrival to this your native and hereditary Kingdom. Heaven very often enhances our Blessings by Disappointments; and your Majesty's safe Arrival, after such a Train of Difficulties and so many Attempts, makes us not doubt but that God is propitious to your just Cause.

As your Majesty's Arrival was seasonable, so it was surprizing; we were happy, and we knew it not; we had the Blessing we wish'd for, yet insensible, till now, that your Majesty has been pleased to let us know that we are the happiest, and, as so we shall always endeavour to be, the most loyal of,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

The Pretender's Answer.

I *Am very sensible of the Duty and Zeal you express for me in this Address; and you may assure yourselves of my Protection.*

In the mean time, to raise the Affections of the People for the *Pretender*, the Earl of *Mar* issued out a circular Letter in Praise of the *Pretender*.

Glasgow, Jan. 5, 1716.

I Met the King at *Fetterosse* on *Tuesday* se'night, where we staid till *Friday*, from thence we came to *Briecbin*, then to *Kinnard*, and yesterday here. The King design'd to have gone to *Dundee* to Day, but

but there is such a Fall of Snow, that he is forced to put it off till To-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to *Scoon*. There was no Haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this Season, else he had not been so long by the way. People every where as we have come along are excessively fond to see him; and express that Duty they ought, without any Compliments to him; and to do him nothing but Justice, set aside his being a Prince, he is really the finest Gentleman I ever knew: He has a very good Presence, and resembles King *Charles* a great deal. His Presence however is not the best of him: He has fine Parts, and dispatches all his Business himself with the greatest Exactness. I never saw any Body write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that Majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest Temper in the World. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy People, were his Subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his Throne, is what these Kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much, that I hope there's a good Fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his Subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd if his Presence among us, after his running so many Hazards to compass it, do not turn the Hearts even of the most Obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the Particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone that well could be to gain every Body, and I hope God will touch their Hearts.

I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new Face of Affairs abroad in the King's Favour, which is all I dare commit to Paper.

M A R.

Likewise

Likewise the *Pretender* issued out the following Order for burning the Country.

James R.

WHereas it is absolutely necessary for our Service and the Publick Safety that the Enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their March towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our Forces; and being this can by no Means be better effected than by destroying all the Corn and Forage which may serve to support them on their March, and burning the Houses and Villages which may be necessary for quartering the Enemy, which nevertheless it is our Meaning should only be done in case of absolute Necessity; concerning which we have given our full Instructions to *James Graham* younger of *Braco*: These are therefore ordering and requiring you, how soon this Order shall be put into your Hands by the said *James Graham*, forthwith, with the Garison under your Command, to burn and destroy the Village of *Auchterarder*, and all the Houses, Corn, and Forage whatsoever within the said Town, so as they may be render'd entirely useless to the Enemy. For doing whereof this shall be to you, and all you employ in the Execution hereof, a sufficient Warrant.

Given at our Court at *Scoon* this 17th Day of *January*, in the fifteenth Year of our Reign, 1715-16.

By his Majesty's Command,

To *Colonel Patrick Graham, or the commanding Officer for the Time of our Garison for Tullibardin.*

M A R.

According

According to this Order several Towns; as *Auchterarder*, *Blackford*, *Dunning*, and *Mutbell*, and other small Villages, were burnt to the Ground; by which the poor Inhabitants, being only the old infirm Men, the Women and Children, the able-bodied being forced from their Homes, either into the Rebellion, or to seek Shelter, which made a most dismal and deplorable Sight, to behold those under these unhappy Circumstances, exposed in the extremest Season of the Year, and in one of the coldest Winters that has been seen these many Ages, so great a Load of Snow upon the Earth, that a speedy Dispatch or Death would have been more eligible to these poor naked Creatures than the unconceivable Pains that follow Cold, Hunger, and Nakedness to the Old and Infirm; besides the Tenderness of the other Sex and sucking Infants. The Chevalier pretends to alleviate his Guilt in this, as the Earl of *Mar* hints in his Memorial, by the Rule of War, more to incommode his Enemies than injure his Friends; who he pretends to relieve and redress, by leaving what Money he could spare, to be distributed among the poor Sufferers by his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*.

During these Things the Government was not idle, the *Dutch* Troops began to arrive, and the General Officers above-named made the necessary Preparations at *Stirling*, to be in a Readiness to march towards *Perth* to attack the *Pretender's* Forces at all Hazards. At the same time the agreeable News was publish'd in the Army, that the Earl of *Seaforth* design'd to return to his Duty and Loyalty to King *GEORGE*: Which, tho' it appear'd afterwards to be otherwise, yet at that Time it put no little Damp upon the Spirits of the Rebels. The chief Obstacle that now retarded the King's Forces from marching, was not so much owing to the Rigor of the Season, and the Fall of the Snow,

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though

though that was extraordinary, as the want of Artillery, occasion'd by contrary Winds, which detain'd some Ships at the *Buoy* of the *Nore*, laden with a Train and Stores from the *Tower* of *London*. But his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* bethought himself of the Garrison of *Berwick*, and sent thither 1500 Draught Horses and 500 Men, to bring from thence a small Train of Artillery consisting of ten Pieces of Cannon and four Mortars, with their Carriages of Ammunition, &c. which, together with fourteen Pieces of Cannon and two Mortars, the Duke had already with him, made a sufficient Train for his Expedition, at least for the first setting out. It is true, his Grace wanted a Company of Gunners and Engineers for the Service, which luckily were brought to him the 29th, by Colonel *Borgard*, who the Day before arrived in the *Friib* with the Men of War and Transports that had on Board the Artillery and Stores so long expected from *London*.

At the same time the Duke of *Argyle* order'd a great many Pioneers to be summon'd to attend the March of the Army, and about 2000 Waggon's to be got ready, resolving to carry fourteen Days Provision for the whole Army, as also a proportionable Quantity of Forage for the Horses.

On the 21st of *January*, Colonel *Guest* was detach'd from *Stirling* with 200 Dragoons, to reconnoitre the Roads leading to *Perth*, in order to begin the March of the Army.

On *Tuesday* the 24th of *January*, the Duke of *Argyle* and General *Cadogan* went personally to view the Roads leading to *Perth*; which put the Rebels into such a Consternation, that some of their small Garrisons abandoned their Posts in *Fife*, and retired behind the River *Ern*: But the Army was not yet march'd. Upon their Return to *Stirling*, the Duke of *Argyle* ordered a Detachment to take post at *Dumblain*, and another at *Down*.

January

January 29th, His Majesty's Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Argyle*, advancing from *Stirling* to *Dumblain*, and the same Morning a Detachment of Troops, with two Pieces of Cannon, approached the Castle of *Braco*, which was immediately abandoned by the Rebels.

January the 30th, a Detachment of 200 Dragoons and 400 Foot, with two Pieces of Cannon, march'd to *Tullibardine*, and dislodg'd the Rebels from thence, and took Post there, to cover the Country People that were employ'd in clearing the Roads from the Snow. The Army this Night advance'd to *Ardoch* and *Auchterarder*, and lay all Night in the open Air in the Snow, the Country being destroy'd by the Rebels.

On *Tuesday* the last of *January* they past the River *Ern* without opposition, and advanced to *Tullibardine*, within eight Miles of *Perth*. About ten a Clock that Morning the Rebels abandon'd *Perth*, marching over the River *Tay* upon the Ice, and about Noon the *Pretender* and the Earl of *Mar* followed. The Duke of *Argyle* received notice of their Retreat about four in the Afternoon, whereupon he immediately order'd a Detachment of 400 Dragoons and 1000 Foot to march and take Possession of the Place, which they entred about Ten next Morning without Opposition. His Grace, with General *Cadogan*, and the Dragoons following the same Day, arrived there about one in the Morning; the rest of the Army marching slowly, by reason of the bad Weather and Ways, arrived in the Evening. They took some of the Rebels Prisoners here, who, being drunk, had stay'd behind the rest. The Place being thus possess'd, the Duke of *Argyle* with the utmost Diligence pursued the flying Enemy the next Day, being *February* the 2d, to *Errol*, with six Squadrons of Dragoons, three Battalions, and eight hundred detach'd Foot.

The next Day they proceeded to *Dundee*, where the rest of the Army came on the 4th. The Rebels retired from *Dundee* to *Montrose*, keeping still two Days March before the King's Army; and his Grace sent on the 3d a Detachment towards *Aberbrothock*, within eight Miles of *Montrose*, and on the 4th in the Morning his Grace divided the Troops, and first order'd Major General *Sabine* with three Battalions, 500 detached Foot, and fifty Dragoons to march to *Aberbrothock*, there being two Roads to *Montrose*, one by *Brechin*, the other by *Aberbrothock*; and then detached the same Day Colonel *Clayton* with 300 Foot and fifty Dragoons, to march by the way of *Brechin*, giving Orders, as well to Major General *Sabine*, as to Colonel *Clayton*, to set the Country People to work to clear the Roads.

His Grace having divided the rest of his Army into two Bodies, for marching with the greater Expedition, proceeded on the 5th in the Morning with all the Cavalry by the upper Road towards *Brechin*, as did the Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* with the Infantry towards *Aberbrothock*, the whole Army being to join the next Day near *Montrose*.

An Account of the Pretender's Conduct in this Flight, and his getting off, you'll find as follows:

ON the 15th of *February*, about Noon, in his March to *Aberbrothock*, General *Cadogan* receiv'd Intelligence, That the Day before, about Four in the Afternoon, the *Pretender* receiv'd Advice at *Montrose*, that Part of the King's Army was advancing towards *Aberbrothock*; whereupon he ordered the Clans which had remained with him after his Flight from *Perth*, to be ready to March about Eight at Night towards *Aberdeen*, where he assur'd them a considerable Force would soon come from *France*.

France. At the Hour appointed for their March, the *Pretender* ordered his Horses to be brought before the Door of the House in which he lodged, and the Guard which usually attended him to Mount, as if he design'd to go on with the Clans to *Aberdeen*: But at the same time he slipped privately out on Foot, accompanied only by one of his Domesticks, went to the Earl of *Mar's* Lodgings, and from thence by a By-way to the Water-side, where a Boat waited, and carried him and the Earl of *Mar* on Board a *French* Ship of about 90 Tons, called the *Maria Teresa* of *St. Malo*. About a quarter of an Hour after, two other Boats carried the Earl of *Melfort* and the Lord *Drummond*, with Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, and ten other Gentlemen, on Board the same Ship, and then they hoisted Sail and put to Sea. The Earls of *Marischal* and *Southesk*, the Lord *Tinmouth*, Son to the Duke of *Berwick*, General *Gordon*, with many other Gentlemen and Officers of Distinction, were left behind to shift for themselves: Upon which the Clans for the most part dispersed, and ran to the Mountains, and about a Thousand of them who continued in a Body, march'd towards *Aberdeen*.

Upon the Receipt of this Intelligence, General *Cadogan* hasten'd his March towards *Montrose*, where he arrived the same Afternoon; the same Night the Duke of *Argyle* came to *Brechin*, within five Miles of *Montrose* with all the Dragoons; Lieutenant-General *Vanderbeck* with the Foot lay at *Aberbrothock*; on the 6th they all continued their March to *Aberdeen*. The same Day General *Gordon*, who took upon him the Command of the Remains of the Rebel Forces, produced to them a Letter from the Chevalier, in which he acquainted his Friends, That the Disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him to leave that Country;

That he had thanked them for their Services, and advised them to advise with General *Gordon*, and consult their own Security, either by keeping together in a Body, or separating. On the 7th of *February* in the Morning, the Van of the Rebels marched from *Aberdeen*, as did their Rear about Two in the Afternoon; their main Body lay at *Meldrum*, but near 200 of their Chiefs, with *Irish*, and other Officers, who came lately from *France*, went towards *Peterhead*, in order to embark there. The Duke of *Argyle* followed the Rebels very closely, for on the 8th of *February* his Grace arrived at *Aberdeen*, with a Detachment of 50 Dragoons and 400 Foot, and the rest of the King's Forces being come the same Day into the Neighbourhood, his Grace detached Major General *Evans*, with 200 Dragoons, and 400 Foot, to intercept the Horse of the Rebels, if finding they could not get off at *Peterhead*; but they got to *Frazerburgh*, a March before him, and were gone to *Bamsf*; whereupon he detached after them Colonel *Campbel* of *Finab*, with 40 Dragoons and 400 Foot; at *Frazerburgh* the Chevalier's Physician surrender'd.

February 13. His Grace had Intelligence from Colonel *Grant*, That he had taken Possession of *Castle Gordon*, and that General *Gordon* and the main Body of the Rebels were gone past that Place, and marched up *Strath-Spey* and *Strath-Don*, which made him believe they were returning home to separate: But the Day before he sent this Account to his Grace, they rendezvouz'd at *Badenock*, to the Number of 400 Horse, and 500 Foot; after which, the Horse, for the Convenience of Forage, marched to *Lochabar*, and the Foot to the Mountains, with a Design to wait till such time as they heard from the Pretender, according to his Promise when he left them: However 120 Gentlemen on Horseback, among whom were the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *George Sinclair*,

Sinclair, General *Eclyn*, Colonel *Hay*, Sir *David Threpland*, and others, took towards *Burgb* in *Murray*, where they embark'd in ten open Boats for *Caithness*. General *Eclyn*, that ever brave and bold Man, to prevent his Horse being of service to the Enemy, shot him through the Head, and a great many followed his Example. They landed at *Dunbeth*, and thence passed in two Boats, sixty of them into the *Orkneys*, where a Ship of Twenty Guns, belonging to the Chevalier, was ready to take them on Board; the other to the Island of *Arskerry*, where they seized a *Scotch* Ship to carry them away, designing for *France*, but the Wind proving contrary they failed towards *Gottenburgh*. About this time, two Boats full of these unfortunate Gentlemen, were cast away going to the *Western Isles*, twenty one being in one Boat, and twenty-six in another.

Major-General *Wightman* had near taken the Marquis of *Huntley*, at the House of *Tannachy Tullocks*: This Marquis, now Duke of *Gordon*, is accounted one of the most inconstant Men of his Age, having in this very Rebellion acted so much the Trimmer, that whenever Opportunity served, he sided with the rising Party: Thus when he heard nothing of the Chevalier's Landing, he was inclinable to surrender to Mercy, and made such Advances as any Man of Honour would have fix'd to; but the Pretender Landing, and his Affairs, by his Presence seeming to put on a better Face, he deserted his Speculations, and returned to the old Cause. When Fortune put a second Frown upon the Cause, he was inclinable again to submit; but Jealousy made him mistrust the least Hopes of abused Clemency; yet the Goodness of His Majesty has extended itself in such a Latitude to him, that he enjoys his Life, and all; which thinking People hope he will not abuse again.

Besides those above-mention'd that endeavour'd to make their Escapes, the Earls of *Marischal*, *Linlithgow*, and *Southesk*, the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, Viscount *Kilsyth*, Lord *Tinmouth*, and others, found means to shift from place to place, till an Opportunity offer'd in their Behalf, to shew them a way after their old Master.

A great many more of the Rebels submitted, others fled to the *Western Isles*: A good Number getting together in the Isle of *Skye*, others under the Command of Brigadier *Campbell* in *South-West*, formed a Body, as if they resolv'd to oppose the King's Forces; but upon the Approach of the Grenadiers to attack them, they immediately run away: But the Brigadier, an old experienc'd Soldier, not us'd to turn his back, stood upon his Guard till the commanding Officer advanc'd, delivered his Sword, and became Prisoner; this Gentleman was brought to *Carlisle*, stood his Trial, pleaded Not Guilty, but found means to make his Escape. Thus I have given an Account of the Rebellion in its blazing Origin, and its Dawning and Setting; but I must desire my Reader to read the * Journal written by the Earl of *Mar* at *Paris*, and there you will find such Reasons as he gives for his Master's Retreat, and it's hop'd it will be the last with him. You will find an Account of the Strength of the Highland Clans added, which will never again be at the *Pretender's* Service; since they were ready to fight, and he unwilling to lead them or head them, unless to the Sea-shore.

* Vide APPENDIX.

A L I S T

A LIST of the most considerable Chiefs in Scotland, and the Number of Men they can raise, with an Account of their Disposition for or against the Government.

THE Duke of *Hamilton* can raise 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, dispos'd well for the Government.

The Dutchess of *Buccleugh* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Gordon* 3000 Men, with their Chief, who is Neutral ; but most of them with his Son the Marquis of *Huntley*, who is against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Duke of *Argyle* 4000 Men, most of them with their Chief, for the Government. This great Duke descended from one of the most ancient Families in *North-Britain*, had the Honour to Command His Majesty's Forces in *Scotland* during the late Rebellion ; which he discharged with the greatest Care, under the greatest Disadvantage, being unequal in Number and Strength to his Enemies ; yet his wise Conduct has made it appear that he is a great Master in the Art of War : For his Behaviour and Conduct, whilst a Commander in *Spain* and elsewhere, though still unequally in Force and other Proportions, he still deserved the just Glory of a Conqueror ; however he may stand in Court Favour, nothing will oblige him to revolt from his Loyalty.

The Duke of *Douglas* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Atbol* 6000 Men, few with their Chief, who is for the Government ; and most of them with his Son the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, who is against it, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Duke of *Montrose* 2000 Men, few with their Chief, who is for the Government; but most against it.

The Duke of *Roxburgh* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government. This Noble Duke, whose Father was drowned at Sea, when coming from *London* with the Duke of *York*, had his generous Education from a careful Parent, which he improv'd to the general Satisfaction of all Men: He is a Nobleman of good Sense, with the Advantage of so much Reading and Learning, and other necessary Accomplishments, with the agreeable Looks of good Humour, that by all that are so happy as to be acquainted with him, he gains their Affection and Applause: His Courage and noble Soul, animated in the Defence of his Invaded Country's Liberty and Religion, is a lasting Standard of his Sincerity, to have both establish'd upon the true Ground-work of the Protestant Succession: Witness his good and gallant Behaviour at the Battle of *Sheriff-Moor*, where he acted the part of an undaunted Hero: His Sovereign's Confidence in his Fidelity, fixes him in a Post of Credit beyond the common Compliment given to Courtiers.

The Marquis of *Annandale* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Errol* 500 Men, few with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them against the Government.

The Earl *Marischall* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Sutherland* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government. This Noble Lord, who had the Honour to Command His Majesty's Forces in the *North*, was the only Instrument of keeping that Country in Obedience to His Majesty: He had gained Promises both from *Seaforth* and

and *Huntley* to submit, which was no small Hindrance to *Mar's* Proceedings, though neither of these Lords performed their Engagements. Had the Arms designed him from *Edinburgh-Castle* arrived safe to him, he would have given a better Account of the Rebels, than it was possible for him to do, being destitute of all Warlike Provisions; yet his Care and Vigilance, and the daily Advantages he gained, notwithstanding his pressing Difficulties, make his Courage, Care, and Zeal for his King, and Preservation of his Country, beyond Dispute.

I must take notice, that though I give the Glory of taking *Inverness* to another, it is only as a Subaltern acting according to the Command of a superior Officer; which when duly executed, is not to be passed over in Silence.

The Earl of *Mar* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Rothes* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Mortoun* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Glencairn* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Eglington* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cassils* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cathness* 300 Men, few, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them against the Government.

The Earl of *Murray* 500 Men, few, with their Chief, who was lately against the Government, and is now for it; but most against it.

The Earl of *Nithsdale* 300 Men, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Earl of *Wintoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Linlithglo* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Hume* 500 Men. He was confin'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but most of his Men, with his Brother, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Perth* 1500 Men, most, with their Chief, who lives Abroad, with his Son the Lord *Drummond*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Wigtoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government.

The Earl of *Strathmore* 300 Men, in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Seaforth* 3000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Countess of *Dumfries* 200 Men, for the Government.

The Earl of *Southesk* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Weems* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Airly* 500 Men, few, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most, with his Son the Lord *Ogilvie*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Carnwath* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Penmure* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Dondonald* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Broadalbine* 2000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Viscount of *Stormount* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government.

The Viscount *Kenmure* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Lord *Forbes* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lady *Lovat* 800 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Lord *Rofs* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Rae* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Nairn* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Here follow the C L A N S.

SIR *Donald Mac-Donald* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glengary* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Gentleman was inferior to none for Bravery.

The Captain of *Clanranald* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Clan did act the part of Men that are resolute and brave, under the Command of their Chief; who, for his good Parts, and genteel Accomplish-

Accomplishments, was look'd upon as the most gallant and generous young Gentleman among the Clans; maintaining a splendid Equipage; keeping a just Deference to People of all Sorts; void of Pride or Ill-humour: He performed the part of one that knew the part of a compleat Soldier; but a fatal Bullet from the King's Forces, through the Body, disabled him, but did not daunt him; so finding a Necessity of yielding to the Fate of his Wound, he withdrew, and told he could do no more; only his Well-wishes attended his King and Country. He was lamented by both Parties that knew him.

The Laird of *Keppoch* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. Colonel *M'Donald*, commonly call'd Laird of *Keppoch*, brought 300 Men into the Rebellion with him; he has no Estate or Fortune properly his own, being Tenant at Will to the Laird of *M'intosh*, of the Farms called *Keppoch*, *Glenroy*, and *Glenspean*, called *Brac-lochaber*; so that these 300 Men, living upon *Mackintosh's* Estate, are properly at his Command, whenever his Occasion requires him to raise his Dependants or Vassals; tho' in the late Rebellion, *Keppoch*, out of Emulation to *Mackintosh*, and to raise his own Character, and to make a Figure, he formed these Men into a distinct Battalion, under his own Denomination and Command; so that the Reader is desired to take Notice, That this was not just in him, according to Custom in *Scotland*, to withdraw himself from his Master, being in the same Interest with him; yet *Mackintosh's* good Nature pardon'd this in him, as also in the *M'Pherfons*, &c. *Keppoch's* Character is such in his Country, that he is esteemed a Man of great Subtilty and Cunning, as hereditary in him from his Predecessors, who have been constantly in Fewds among themselves, shedding

ding each others Blood in the most barbarous Manner ever heard of. His Pretensions to serve the Family of *Stewart* have been very great; but yet he never made that known by any one single Act of Bravery: For when Occasion required him to shew his Courage, and to act his Part, as at *Gilley-cranky*, *Cromdale*, and *Sheriff-Moor*, he still shewed his Face, but never drew his Sword, for his People are expert at nothing more than Stealing and publick Robberies; for at *Perth* they made a good Hand in this way of Business among the Country People, and others of their own Party.

The Laird of *Mac-Intosh* 1000 Men, all with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion. Most of this Clan were in *England*, and others were posted off *Inverness*.

The Laird of *Mac-Gregor* 500 Men, most with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Clan did nothing worth mentioning at *Sheriff-Moor*.

The Laird of *Strowen Robertson* 500 Men, all with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Mac-Pherfon* 500 Men, all with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Clan is part of the *Mackintosh's* Family.

Sir *Evan Cameron* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Knight is so old and infirm, that he could not lead his Vassals to the Field, but were commanded by his Son, who returning home after the Battle of *Dumblain*, seemingly concealed the Action from the old Gentleman; but he having some Intelligence thereof, enquired narrowly for a just Account; he found by that, that his Vassals did not behave according to their former Bravery, which made him answer thus: Son, I can call to
mind

mind since the *Camerons* were not so numerous as they are at this Day, but I find by your Account, that the older they grow the more Cowardice; for in *Oliver's* Days, your Grandfather with his Men could fight double their Number, as I right well remember; for it is reported, that when *Oliver* had built a Fort, to curb the Highlanders at *Inverlochy*, that the *Camerons* did annoy them strangely, beating and pursuing them whenever they came out into the Country, to the very Walls of their Garison. And it is recorded of this Sir *Evan Cameron* of *Locheal*, that following his Enemy too far, one of *Oliver's* Men vanquish'd him, being then young, and having thrown him upon the Ground, refused to grant him Quarter, and endeavouring to draw his Bajonet to stab his Captive, the vanquish'd found an odd way to deliver himself; for with a fierce Spring he raised his Body, till he caught hold of his Conqueror by the Throat with his Teeth, and pulled it out; so that the other immediately died, and young *Locheal* return'd home. He is a Gentleman, tho' old, of a sound Judgment, and yet very healthful and strong in Constitution.

Sir *John Mac-Lean* 1000 Men, most with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Grant* 1000 Men, all with their Chief for the Government. This Clan belongs to a very loyal Gentleman, who himself is very gallant and brave; but his Followers at *Sheriff-Moor* did not act the part of Fighting, so well as that Family has done upon other Occasions.

The Laird of *Appin* 300 Men, all with their Chief against the Government, and in the Rebellion. These Men did not behave so well as was expected.

The

The Laird of *Mac-Leod* 1000 Men, moſt with their Chief, who is a Minor and Neutral.

The Laird of *Mac-Kenning* 200 Men, all with their Chief againſt the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenco* 100 Men, all with their Chief againſt the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenmoriston* 100 Men, all with their Chief againſt the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Mac-Neil of *Barra* 120 Men.

Chriſtolme of *Straglaſs* 100 Men, with their Chief, in the Rebellion.

Note, *That all the Chiefs in Scotland, are Chiefs of Clans, properly ſo ſpeaking, whether Noblemen or Gentlemen; but commonly the laſt only are call'd the Clans, and particularly thoſe of them who live in the North and Weſt Highlands and Iſles.*

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



APPENDIX.

*The Earl of Mar's Journal, Printed at
Paris, (as referr'd to Page 190.)*

S I R,

YOU seem surpris'd at the sudden Change our Affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the Accounts you had from some of our Friends at *Edinburgh*, before our leaving *Pertb*; and even after we were gone from thence: I will therefore, for your Satisfaction, give you a true Account of that whole Matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our Business to represent our Affairs then to the Publick, to be in such a Posture as might most encourage our Friends every where, and discourage our Enemies, and stop them from marching against us until we were in a better Condition to receive them; which we had reason to expect soon to be, by our Friends joining us, as they daily promis'd to do, and until we should receive the Money, Arms, and Ammunition we were every Day expecting, as we had been for a long Time.

But that Time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it's fit you should know, that a
O 2 Month

Month before the *Chevalier* landed, the Resolution was taken of abandoning *Perth*, as soon as the Enemy should march against it : And tho' this Resolution was known to a good Number in our Army, yet the Secret was so well kept, that it never came to the Publick ; so that the Enemy believing that we would stand our Ground, thought themselves obliged to delay their March for a long time, until they had made great Preparations of Artillery, &c. as if they had been going to besiege a fortified Town : But in reality, our Condition was then such, as obliged us to take that Resolution, having neither a sufficient Number of Men, Ammunition, nor Arms.

Upon the *Chevalier's* Arrival, we expected that our Friends would then have certainly joined us ; both those who had formerly been with us and were gone Home, and those who before had given, the *Chevalier* not being come, as the only Reason of their not joining the Army ; and also that those, to whom the reducing of *Inverness*, the Lord *Sutherland*, and those with him was committed, would have vigorously performed that Service, and then have joined us ; and we had no reason to doubt, but Money, Ammunition, and Arms would immediately be sent after the *Chevalier*.

But, to our great Misfortune, we were disappointed in all those our Hopes, though never so well grounded in Appearance.

The Rigor of the Season, and the great Fall of the Snow on the Hills, kept in some Measure the rest of the Highlanders from joining us. Most of those who before had excused themselves upon the *Chevalier's* not being come, kept still at home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to see how his Affairs were like to succeed. Those employed for reducing of *Inverness*, were so far from acting with Vigor, that they made, what they called it, a
Cessation

Cessation of Arms with the Enemy. Some Gold was sent to us in *Lingo's*; but the Ship in which it came was Stranded, and the Gold lost. Several Ships came with Officers, but neither Arms nor Ammunition in any of them: So that our Condition after the *Chevalier's* Arrival, was no ways better'd, except by the new Life his Presence gave to the small Number we at that time had got together: Even in that weak Condition, the *Chevalier* would gladly have maintained *Perib*, or ventur'd a Battle; but when the Enemy with all their great Preparations, and an Army of above 8000 effective regular Troops were actually in march, and advanced near to the Place, it was found impracticable to defend the Town, and unadviseable to enter into a Battle with a small Number of Men that were in it, for a great many Reasons too long to be here mentioned. But in short, we had not above 4000 both Horse and Foot; and of these, for want of Arms, and for other Reasons, not above 2500 to be rely'd upon as good fighting Men. The Town is little better than an open Village at any Time; and at this, the River on one side, and a kind of Fosse or Ditch on the other, were frozen up; so that it was easy to be entred on all Quarters. The long continued Frost had kept the Mills from going; so that there was not above two Days Provisions in the Town. The Enemy being then in Possession of the most part of *Fife*; where the Coal-pits are, there were no Coals to be got; and Wood being scarce in the Country, there happen'd to be almost no Fuel at all. Besides this, the Highlanders are not used to defend Towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the Enemy, when there was no advantageous Post or Pass to be defended, had been exposing our Men to visible Destruction, the Enemy being provided with

every thing, and thrice our Number of fighting Men, might have surrounded us on all Sides, and prevented all Possibility of Retreat. All this put us into an absolute Necessity of leaving *Perth*, and retiring Northwards, which we did in good Order, and came in two Days to *Montrose* and *Briechin*. Neither of these Places are tenable, tho' we had been provided, as we were not, with a sufficient Number of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions. But *Montrose* being a good Harbour, where we expected our Succours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, so long as we could remain safe in it. We thought indeed, that the Enemy would have made a Halt at *Perth*, and not have marched so quickly after us, as we soon found they did, they being within a few Miles of us before we had certain Intelligence of it, tho' great Pains had been taken to be informed of their Motions. The Earl of *Panmure*, not being recovered of the severe Wounds he had received at the Battle of *Sheriff-Moor*, was not in a Condition to march along with the Army, which otherwise he would have done; upon which the *Chevalier* advis'd him, as he pass'd *Dundee*, to endeavour to get off in the first Ship he could find; and by Accident finding a little Bark at *Arboth*, went off in it for *France*.

Before this Time, several People had very seriously represented to the *Chevalier*, the deplorable Circumstances in which his Affairs now were on all Sides; that being over-power'd in *Scotland*, no Appearance of any Rising in *England*, nor any News of the Succours he expected from abroad; he had no Course at present to take, that was consistent with what he owed to his People in general, to those who had taken Arms for him in particular, and to himself upon their Account, but by retiring beyond Sea, to preserve himself for a better Occasion.

sion of asserting his own Right, and restoring them to their ancient Liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this; but those about him found it now high time to press the Matter more than ever, the Enemy being within three Miles upon their March towards us. They therefore again represented to him the Impossibility of making a Stand any where, till they should come to the most inaccessible Places of the Mountains, where in that Season of the Year, there being so much Snow on the Ground, there could be no Subsistence for any Body of Men together, and where no Succour could come to them: That when his small Army was divided in lesser Bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the Enemies Troops, who would then be Master of all the Low Countries, and especially by the Garisons they had in *Inverlochy* and *Inverness*, which they would reinforce: That as long as they knew he was in the Kingdom, they would pursue him, even with the Hazard of their whole Army, his Person being the chief Object of their Pursuit, as his Destruction was the only thing that could secure their U—n; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not pursue with that Eagerness; nor would they find their Account in harassing their Army in the Snow and excessive Cold of the Mountains, to pursue the scatter'd Remains of the Loyal Party, who might skulk in the Hills, till Providence should open a Way for their Relief, or that they could obtain Terms from the Government. That his Person being with them, would defeat even these faint Hopes; and that in short, whilst he was in the Kingdom, they could never expect any Terms or Capitulation, but by abandoning him, or giving him up; which rather than ever consent to, they would be all to the last Man cut in Pieces.

Tho' the *Chevalier* was still extremely unwilling to leave his Loyal People, who had sacrific'd their All with so much Zeal and Alacrity for his Service; yet when he consider'd, that as Things then stood, his Presence, far from being a Help and Support to them, would rather be an Occasion of hastening their Ruin, he was sensibly touched to find himself, for their Sakes, under a Necessity of leaving them; there was no answering their Reasons, nor any Time to be lost, the Danger increasing every Moment. He therefore at last told them, that he was sorry to find himself obliged to consent to what they desired of him; and I dare say, no Consent he ever gave, was so uneasy to him as this was.

In the mean time, fresh Alarms coming of the Enemy's approaching, Orders were given for the Army's marching towards *Aberdeen*, and the Resolution was taken for his going off in the Evening. It happen'd very providentially, that there was just ready in the Harbour a small Ship, that had been designed to carry a Gentleman he was then to have sent to a Foreign Court. This Ship was now pitch'd upon to transport him; she was but a small one, and could carry but a few Passengers; and therefore to avoid Confusion, he himself thought fit to name those who should attend him. The Earl of *Mar* who was the first nam'd, made Difficulty, and begg'd he might be left behind; but the *Chevalier* being positive for his going, and telling him, that in a great measure there were the same Reasons for his going as for his own; that his Friends would more easily get Terms without him than with him; and that as Things now stood, he could be no longer of any use to them in that Country, he submitted.

The *Chevalier* likewise ordered the Marquis of *Drummond* to go along with him: This Lord was then lame by a Fall from his Horse, and not in a
Condi:

Condition to follow the Army, and was one of the four with the Earl of *Mar*, Lord *Tullibardine*, and Lord *Litbgow*, against whom there was then a Bill of Attainder passing. The *Chevalier* would have willingly carried with him the other two Lords ; but it happen'd that they were both then at a Distance ; Lord *Tullibardine* at *Briecbin* with a part of the Foot, and Lord *Litbgow* at *Bervie* with the Horse. Lord *Marischal*, Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, was also ordered to go, though he seem'd very desirous to stay and share in the Fate of his Countrymen. Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, Vice-Chamberlain, had the same Orders ; as had also Colonel *Clephan* who had left the Enemy. Lord *Edward Drummond*, who was also Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, happen'd to be with Lord *Tinmouth* at five Miles distance, and so could not go with the *Chevalier*, as he intended they both should ; but he wrote to them to follow in a small Ship that was then in the Harbour ; but the Master of this Ship was frighten'd, and went away without carrying any Body.

The *Chevalier* then order'd a Commission to be drawn for Lieutenant-General *Gordon* to Command in Chief, with all necessary Powers insert'd ; and particularly one, to Treat and Capitulate with the Enemy : He left also the said General the Reasons of his leaving this Kingdom, and all the Money that was in the Paymaster's Hands, or that he had himself, (save a small Sum for defraying his own and Company's Charges) and left Orders for a Sum of Money (if there should be any left after paying the Army) to be given to the poor People who suffer'd by the Burning of *Auchterarder*, and some Villages about it, which had been thought necessary to be done, to prevent the Enemy's March, tho' very much against his Inclination ; which made him delay from time to time, until the Enemy was actually
on

on their March ; and the *Chevalier* left a Letter with General *Gordon* for my Lord *Argyle*, to be deliver'd when the said Money should be given, desiring that it should be distributed accordingly.

About Nine o'Clock the *Chevalier* went on Board the Ship, which was about a Mile at Sea ; Lord *Marischal* and Colonel *Clephan* came some time after to the Shore, but by an Accident found no Boat, and so could not go off ; tho' as the Boat-men, who carried the *Chevalier*, assure us, he stay'd for them till near Eleven o'Clock, but could stay no longer, because of the nine Men of War that were cruising thereabouts ; and it was great good Luck that the Ship, having stay'd so long, got out of their Reach before it was Day-light.

As soon as the *Chevalier* parted, we marched, and we are now a good way advanced towards the *Highlands*, for there was no Stand could be made at *Aberdeen* ; nor could we think of going to *Inverness*, that being still in the Enemy's Hands. Some went to *Peterhead*, and thought to have got off in a Ship they found there ; but we hear they were soon forc'd back'd by a Man of War ; so it's like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the Enemy.

I must here add one Thing, which however incredible it may appear, is, to our Cost, but too true ; and that is, That from the Time the Earl of *Mar* set up the *Chevalier's* Standard to this Day, we never received from Abroad the least Supply of Arms and Ammunition of any Kind : Tho' it was notorious in itself, and well known, both to Friends and Enemies, that this was what from the Beginning we mainly wanted ; and as such, it was insisted upon by the Earl of *Mar*, in all the Letters he writ, and by all the Messengers he sent to the other Side. Several Ships came with Officers, and some small Sums of Money, after the Battle of *Sheriff-Moor* ; and three

three or four Ships more came after the *Chevalier's* Arrival; but even when he was with us in Person, no Powder was sent, nor a Sword nor Musquet: So that when we march'd from *Perth*, we had not 300 Weight of Powder for the whole Army; nor should we have wanted Men, had we had Arms to put in their Hands. How the main Point came to be so entirely neglected by those who had the Management of the *Chevalier's* Affairs in their Hands on the other Side, is yet a Mystery to us; and it surprizes the more, that those who came lately over assure us, that both Arms and Ammunition might have been gotten from private Hands, without having the Obligation to any Foreign Prince. So whether this unaccountable Omission proceeded from mere Negligence, want of Money, or from a Jealousy in some, who were, perhaps, unwilling that we should be the Instruments of this great Work, and that it should succeed in our Hands, or for some other By-reasons, is what Time may discover.

Thus I have given you true Matter of Fact, and a sincere Account of our unfortunate Condition. Whatever may now be our Fate, we have still one solid Ground of Comfort, that the *Chevalier* hath (as we hope) got safe out of the Reach of his Enemies; for in the Safety of his Person is all our Hopes of Relief; and we look on him as the Instrument reserved by God, (and he now seems the only one in the ordinary Course of Providence) to rescue these Nations in due Time from their Oppression, and the lawless Dominion of *E*—.

Now if we look back a little, and consider our Affairs from the Beginning of this last Attempt, I believe it will be found that no Nation in our Circumstances, and so destitute of all kind of Succour from Abroad, ever made so brave a Struggle for restoring their Prince and Country to their just Rights.

Rights. And when it comes to be known to the World, (as some time or other it may) what Encouragements there were at Home and Abroad, reasonably to make us expect and hope for Success in this great, good, and necessary Work ; it will appear no chimerical, rash, or ill-grounded Undertaking ; and it's not proving Successful, plainly appears, by what has been already said, and what follows, is not owing to the *Chevalier*, or his faithful Friends on this Side.

When the Earl of *Mar*, by the *Chevalier's* Command, came down to *Scotland*, he found the People there more forward to take Arms, than his Instructions allowed him to consent to ; and it was not without Difficulty that we could allay their first Heat. But the *Chevalier* not going into *England*, nor the Duke of *Berwick* coming to *Scotland*, as was generally expected, abated very much of that Forwardness ; so that when the Government summon'd those they suspected to appear and give Bail for their good Behaviour, many of them seem'd inclin'd to comply. The Earl of *Mar*, in Pursuance of his Instructions, found it then high time for preventing this Step, to appear openly ; and it was not without Difficulty that he could persuade some to join with him, they apprehending great Uncertainty of Success in the Affair, by no Account being come of the *Chevalier*, or the Duke of *Berwick's* Arrival, nor of Money, Arms, Ammunition, or Officers, tho' others were all along very forward. Upon the Resolution of taking Arms, he sent a Gentleman to give the *Chevalier* an Account of it.

It was near a Month after the Earl of *Mar* set up the Standard before he could produce a Commission ; and it is no small Proof of the Peoples Zeal for their Country, that so great a Number followed his Advice and obey'd his Orders before he could produce one. It must tho' be own'd, and it is the less to be wonder'd

wonder'd at, that his Authority being thus precarious, some were not so punctual in joining him, and others perform'd not so effectually the Service they were sent upon ; which had they done, not only *Scotland*, but even Part of *England*, had been reduced to the *Chevalier's* Obedience before the Government had been in a Condition to make head against us. But as it was, most of those who had promised, and some who had not, join'd the *Chevalier's* Standard at *Perth* about the End of *October* ; at which Time the Earl of *Mar* sent two Gentlemen to give the *Chevalier* an Account of the Condition they were in, of what they had, and what they wanted, and to hasten his own, the Duke of *Ormond's*, and the Duke of *Berwick's* Coming into *Britain*.

About this Time there was a Rising of some Noblemen and Gentlemen in the South of *Scotland*, who marching over the Borders, were join'd by some in the North of *England* ; and they all together marching back into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Mar* sent over the *Firth of Forth* 1500 Foot to join them. This occasion'd the Duke of *Argyle's* leaving *Stirling*, and going with a Part of his Army to *Edinburgh*. Now, had the *Scots* and *English* Horse, who were then in the South of *Scotland*, come and join'd the 1500 Foot, as was expected ; had the Highland Clans perform'd as they promised the Service they were sent upon in *Argyleshire*, and march'd towards *Glasgow* as the Earl of *Mar* march'd towards *Stirling*, he had then given a good Account of the Government's Army, the Troops from *Ireland* not having yet join'd them, nor could they have join'd them afterwards. But all this failing by some cross Accidents, Lord *Argyle* returned with that Part of his Army to *Stirling* ; and the Earl of *Mar* could not, with the Men he then had, advance farther than *Dumblain* ; and for want of Provisions there, was soon after oblig'd to return to *Perth*.

But

But immediately after we had got Provisions, and that the Clans and my Lord *Seaforth* had join'd us, we marched again towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the many Difficulties the Earl of *Mar* had upon that Occasion with some of our own People, he gave the Enemy Battel; and, as you saw in our printed Account of it, had not our Left Wing given way, which was occasion'd by Mistake of Orders and Scarcity of experienc'd Officers, that being compos'd of as good Men, and march'd as chearfully up to the Field of Battel as the other, our Victory had been compleat; and as it was, the Enemy, who was advanced on this side the River, was forced to retire back to *Stirling*.

Amongst many good Qualities, the Highlanders have one unlucky Custom, not easy to be reform'd; which is, that generally after an Action they return Home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late Battel of *Sheriff-Moor*; so that the Earl of *Mar* not being in a Condition to pursue the Advantage he had by it, was forc'd to return to *Pertb*, waiting there, not without Impatience, both for the Return of the Highlanders, and for Money, Arms and Ammunition, he had so often ask'd, and still expected from Abroad. But the Highlanders hearing nothing of the *Chevalier*, or the Duke of *Berwick's* Coming, nor of the Supplies, did not return to the Army, as they had promised. And the Gentlemen of the Army, who had been long from Home, living still at their own Charge, which they could not well longer support, went also mostly Home, some without Leave, and others after a Leave, which the Earl of *Mar* saw well enough would be to no purpose to refuse. Some indeed never thought of quitting the Army, and others return'd soon to it; but our Number was never again near so great as it had been before the Battel. About this Time we had the News of the fatal
Affair

Affair at *Preston*, which was no small Discouragement to the Army; so that some who had been caballing privately before, began then to speak openly of capitulating with the Enemy, and found others more easy to join with them.

We had at the same Time another Piece of bad News; which was, That *Simon Frazer* of *Beauford* (by some call'd Lord *Lovat*) had join'd Lord *Sutherland*; and that they, with the Help of some other disaffected People thereabouts, had retaken *Inverness*. Upon this News, most of the Name of *Frazer*, who had join'd the *Chevalier's* Army with *Frazerdale*, went now away, and join'd *Beauford*, or Lord *Lovat*, their Chief.

This oblig'd the Earl of *Mar* to send Lord *Seaforth* North to get his Men together, who had mostly return'd Home after the Battel, and in Conjunction with the *Chevalier's* Friends in that Country, to endeavour to recover *Inverness*.

In the mean time, those who were for capitulating with the Enemy, pressed the Earl of *Mar* so hard to consent to it, that to prevent some Peoples making private separate Treaties, which he found they were about, he was at last forc'd to comply so far with them, as to send a Message from the whole Army to my Lord *Argyle*, to know *if he had Power to treat with them?* That Lord return'd with great Civility this Answer: *That he had no sufficient Power to treat with them in a Body, but that he would write to Court upon the Subject.* To which it was reply'd; *That when he should let them know he had sufficient Power, they then would make their Propositions.* By which the Affair was put off at that time; and we were since informed, that the Lord *Argyle* never received those Powers; and that even his former Power, which he sent up to be enlarged, were never returned to him.

Much

Much about this time, the Marquis of *Huntley* having, for some time, press'd his going home with his Horse, the Earl of *Mar* consented to it, and gave him a Commission, in Conjunction with my Lord *Seaforth*, for reducing of *Inverness*, and those who oppos'd the *Chevalier's* Interest in that Country, which we then hop'd would be soon done.

After this, some, though but few, were discovered to have private Dealings with the Enemy; and some others went home, and never returned to the Army; but a good Number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and all the Heads of the Clans, still remained with the Army at *Perth*.

We had, about this time, the long-wish'd for News of the *Chevalier's* being Landed; and that put an End, for the present, to any farther talking of Capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and, I hope, satisfactory Account of the Condition we have been in, ever since our first taking Arms; of the bad Condition in which the *Chevalier* found us at his Arrival; and of the Reasons that oblig'd him at last to leave us.

There remains yet to answer one Question, which you may naturally ask, as most People do, on this Subject; and that is, Why the *Chevalier* delayed his Coming so long?

To answer this Question to your Satisfaction, I must tell you, That I have what I shall here relate, from Persons of unquestionable Veracity, who were then upon the Place, Eye and Ear Witnesses of what pass'd; and so you may safely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally said of the *Chevalier's* Sister's Inclinations towards him, whilst she was in Possession of his Throne. But whatever there was of Truth in that, what I am well assured of is, that he was at last so little satisfied with what was said to him from thence, that he

was

was fully resolved, whilst she was yet alive, to have gone into *Scotland*; and, in order to that, had already prepared a Declaration, or Manifesto, to have been there published upon his Arrival. How he was hinder'd from putting this Design in Execution by some real Friends, that were themselves impos'd upon, and by other pretended Friends, who were at the Bottom real Enemies, is a Mystery which Time may discover.

Upon the first News of his Sister's Death, he immediately took Post, resolved to endeavour, at any Rate, to get into some Part of his Dominions; but was stopp'd by those who had Power to do it effectually. Being then forc'd back to *Lorain*, he made and published his Protestation, which it's likely you have seen, and which, I can assure you, was drawn entirely by himself.

From that Time, as before, he had nothing in his Thoughts, but how and when he could assert his own Right, and deliver his People. He saw little Ground to hope for Succour from any foreign Prince, and had only the Affections of his People, and the Advice of his Friends on this Side of the Water, to rely upon. Their Interest seemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the Place, and consequently best able to judge of the fittest time for his coming to them, it must be allow'd, that it has been no ways prudent nor adviseable in him, to act contrary to their Opinion: And yet it is most certain, that it was only by following their Advice, contrary to his own Judgment and Inclination, that so much time was lost. Some of them in *England* insisted upon having a certain Number of Regular Troops to make Head at first, without which, they said, nothing was to be attempted; and though he sent them Word over and over, That, after all the Endeavours he could use, he found it absolutely impossible to obtain any Troops;

yet they insisted for several Months in this Opinion, and by that Means the most favourable Time he ever had, was lost. Other Friends there pretended, that the Dispositions of the People would still grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no Danger, but Advantage, by delaying.

Thus, though he had several times fixed a Day for his Departure, he was still forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the Advice of his Friends; and at another time, because he found that his Enemies had discover'd his Design, and taken infallible Measures to intercept him. But as soon as his Friends began to see, and own the Mistakes they had been in, he, without any regard to the many Dangers he had to go through, set out from *Commercy* the 28th of *October*, and went *incognito* through a great Part of *France*, to the Coast of *Britany*; and to avoid falling into the Hands of Many, who were plac'd upon the common Road to intercept him, he was obliged to cross the Country through Bye-ways, with only three People with him. His Design was to go to *England*, if things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to *Scotland*.

When he arrived at *St. Malo's*, he found the Duke of *Ormond* returned from the Coast of *England*, to which he had gone some Days before, in hopes to have found Friends ready to join him; but that having failed, by some Accidents of Discoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he resolved to go into *Scotland*; and it not being thought safe for him to go through the *British* Channel, he had been advis'd to go round *Ireland*; and, by a Message from his Friends in *Scotland*, it was propos'd to him to Land at *Dunstaffnage*, which was at that time in their Possession; but soon after the Enemy came to be Masters of it, by the Clans not performing what they were charg'd with in *Argyle-shire*,

shire, as is aforesaid. His Friends immediately inform'd him of this Change, by a second Messenger; and this confirm'd him in the Resolution he hath himself before taken, of changing all his Measures, and, in place of taking that long, tedious Way, which was indeed the safest, to take a much shorter, though a more dangerous Way for being intercepted by the Enemies Ships; he sent therefore immediately to prepare a small Ship privately for him at *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly done, though not without Difficulty.

He was now a second time oblig'd to traverse a great Part of *France*, and that on Horseback, in the very coldest time of this hard and severe Winter; expos'd to greater Danger than in the *Forest*, from the greater Number of those who lay in wait for him on all the great Roads, which oblig'd him to travel by unfrequented Routs, where there was Accommodation bad enough; and yet all this time, in that terrible Cold, he never had the least Ailment or Indisposition.

It was about the Middle of *December* (our Style) before he could reach *Dunkirk*; he was there inform'd, that there was a Man of War then lying in that very Road; and that there were a great many more cruising on the Coast of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, all of them in wait for him; but he, without any regard to these Dangers, went immediately on Board this small Ship with only three Servants, and, conducted by good Providence, arriv'd safe at *Peterhead*, where he Landed the 22^d of *December* (old Style).

Having, I hope, now fully satisfied your Curiosity, I have only to add, That though it hath pleas'd God to permit, that this Attempt, though never so just, had not the wish'd-for Success; we have still reaped by it one great Advantage, which is, That we have seen with our own Eyes, and personally

totally known our lawful S-----n; and, to our unspeakable Satisfaction, discover'd in him all the great and good Qualities that are necessary for making a People every-way happy.

The time may, and I hope will yet come, when God, in his Mercy, will open the Eyes, and turn the Hearts of these Nations to a Sense of their Duty, and not permit so accomplish'd a Person to be always unfortunate: But however it shall please Providence to dispose of him, this I can assure you, and you may rely upon it, that as his Right is indefeasible, he is firmly resolv'd, by the Help of Almighty God, to assert it, whenever he finds a fit Opportunity, and never to depart from it, but with his Life.

The Lord *MAR*'s Letter to -----

S I R,

*T*HE inclosed Relation having come to my Hands since I came to this Country; and having, upon Perusal, found it very exact in Matters of Fact; I thought you would be glad to see it, which makes me send it to you; and, if you think fit, you may shew it to your Friends where you are.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

Sic sub. M A R.

I could

I could not conveniently insert the following Particulars in the former Part of this History; but to be more particular in relating the several Conspiracies of His Majesty's secret Enemies, I shall here give my Reader a distinct Account of an early concerted Design to surprize *Bristol*, a City strong, populous, stored with all manner of Provisions; being the second City in *Great-Britain*, famous for Trade and Riches.

Upon Information, that the Disaffected had laid a Design to surprize the Place, and make it a Magazine of Arms, the Earl of *Berkley*, Lord-Lieutenant and Governor of that City and County, repair'd thither with all Speed towards the End of *September* 1715, and with unwearied Application and Diligence, took all the necessary Measures and Precautions for the Security of that important Town. Several Persons, under Pretence of being Members of the Royal Society, carried on Treasonable Designs, were secured, amongst them, one Mr. *Hart* a Merchant, who was charged for having gathered great Quantities of Warlike Stores for the Use of the Disaffected. Besides part of *Lumley's* Regiment of Horse, and two Battalions of *Stanwin* and *Pocock*, who were already in *Bristol*, Colonel *Chudleigh's* Regiment of Foot was ordered to March thither; which they did about the Beginning of *October*; at the same time the Lord *Windsor's* Regiment of Horse, and *Rich's* Dragoons, under the Command of Major-General *Wade* marched to *Bath*, which Place was both the Rendezvous, and one of the Arsenals of the Conspirators, who having recovered their first Alarm, and returned to *Bath*, were secured, with about 200 Horses. Upon strict Search, the King's Officers found and seized Eleven Chests of Fire-Arms, a Hogthead full of Basket-hilted Swords, and another of Cartouches, and three

Pieces of Cannon, one Mortar, and Molds to Cast Cannon, which had been hid in the Ground.

Mr. Secretary *Stanbope* having written a Letter to the Magistrates of *Bath*, signifying the Occasion of Major-General *Wade's* marching thither with the two Regiments above-mentioned; they thought fit to return an Answer, with an Assurance of their Loyalty, and the Apprehensions they were under from the vast Concourse of Nonjurors and Papists that flock'd thither: But their Fear ceased upon Major-General *Wade's* coming.

The Designs of the Disaffected upon the Important City of *Bristol* being defeated, they laid a Project to seize on the Port and Town of *Plimouth*; but the same was happily prevented, by the timely securing of several suspected Persons. I have heard Mr. *Buxton* say, that he had been taking a View of this Port, and *Portsmouth*; and had counted how many Cannon were mounted in each. Part of the common People in *Cornwal* were at this time ripe for Rebellion, some of them having got together, had the Insolence to proclaim the Pretender at *St. Colombe*.

The Tory Party, tho' disappointed in their first Attempt to surprize *Bristol*, yet their Zeal for the Cause animated them for to undertake another Design upon that City. Being informed about the middle of *January* 1715—16, That the late Duke of *Ormond* intended to Land in the *West*, and put himself at the Head of a Body of Discontents, who, upon Pretence of repairing to *Bristol* Fair designed to make themselves Masters of that famous City; the Government thought fit to reinforce that Garrison with Colonel *Pocock's* Regiment of Foot, and some other regular Forces. Major General *Wade*, who Commanded in those Parts, repaired thither, to give the necessary Directions; and at the same time, the Loyal Citizens formed two voluntary Troops of Horse

Horfe to fuppress Mobs, which were grown Infolent: Nor were thefe Precautions altogether needlefs: For the Night between the 14th and 15th of *January*, a Waggon laden with Goods for *Bristol* Fair, being by accident fet on Fire at *Hounslow*, there was difcovered in it a great Quantity of Fire-Arms and Ammunition lying under the Goods; upon which the fame were feized by a Trooper of the Duke of *Argyle's* Royal Regiment of Guards; fo this fecond Defign miscarried, Fate ftill purfuing all their Projects.

Befides all thefe Schemes fo artfully laid, previous to thefe a mortifying Accident befel them; an Order was Sign'd by the Secretary of State, for to feize Sir *William Windbam*, fufpected to be concerned in forming a Party of his Interelt to rife in favour of the *Pretender*: This happened *September 21, 1715*. The Messenger and Captain *Husk* of the Foot Guards, were difpatch'd to apprehend him at his Seat, called *Orchard Windbam* in *Somersetfbire*, who got thither between Four and Five in the Morning; the Door being opened to them, they appeared to be in hafte to fee Sir *William*, but the Porter told them he was in Bed, and could not yet be fpoke with. The Colonel told him, he came Exprefs, and the Perfon with him had a Packet of Letters of fuch Confequence, his Mafter muft be immediately told of it. This convinc'd the Man, and Sir *William* prefently leaped out of Bed, and came in his Gown to the Colonel, who told him he was his Prifoner; the Messenger at the mean time fhewing his 'Scutcheon, the Badge of his Office, Sir *William* told them, that he readily fubmitted; but he defired no Noife might be made to frighten his Lady who was with Child. They then entred a Chamber, where the Colonel feeing Sir *William's* Coat and Waiftcoat lie, told him, he had Orders to feize all his Papers, and that he muft take leave to fearch his Pockets, where-

in he found a Bundle of Papers, which he secured. Sir *William* would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the Keys of his Escutore; but the Colonel happened to secure the main Chance above, (finding nothing in the Escutore.) Sir *William*'s Countenance alter'd when the Colonel took the Bundle out of his Waistcoat Pocket. Sir *William* then desired the Colonel, that he would stay till Seven o'Clock, and he would order his own Coach and Six Horses to be got ready, which would carry them all; telling the Colonel, he would only go and put on his Cloaths, and take leave of his Lady, and then he would wait on him. The Colonel, who had particular Orders to use him with Decorum, readily complied with the Request, looking on it as his Parole to return; but he soon found himself mistaken; for tho' the Colonel had caused Two Doors of Sir *William*'s Bed-Chamber to be secured, yet there being a Third, he made his Escape thro' it. The Colonel having directed the Messenger to stay at *Orchard-Windbam* till farther Orders, returned with all Speed to *London*, to acquaint the Government with what had happened; whereupon the King in Council thought fit to publish a Proclamation, with a Reward of a Thousand Pounds for Apprehending him.

Sir *William* being pursued with this Proclamation and several Messengers, he thought a Clergyman's Habit the best Disguise, so order'd a Letter to be sent to a Gentleman in *Surry*, to desire Refuge in his House; the Gentleman being abroad, his Lady open'd it, and fearing the Consequence of Harboursing one in his Circumstances, she sent the Letter to a Nobleman of her Acquaintance, who failed not immediately to acquaint the Government. Sir *William*, rightly judging that he was closely pursued, thought it Prudence to make Necessity a Virtue, and surrender himself to the Government; in
order

order to that, having crossed the *Thames* near *Thistleworth*, he went first to *Sion House* belonging to the Duke of *Somerset*, his Father-in-Law, and coming from thence to *London*, on *Monday Night, October* the 3d, he put himself into the Hands of the Earl of *Hertford* (his Brother-in-Law) Captain of one of the Troops of Life-Guards; who gave Notice thereof to Mr. Secretary *Stanbope*, who sent one of his Clerks, with a Messenger, to take Sir *William Windham* into Custody: Three Days after, he was Examined at the Council-Board, where he denied he knew any thing of a Plot, or the intended Rebellion; yet an Order was sign'd for his Commitment to the *Tower*. Whether this Gentleman was privy to any such Designs, I shall not pretend to determine, but this I can affirm, that it was a feeling cold Blow to all the Party, especially to the *Northumberland* Rebels who found themselves very much lessened by this Gentleman's Confinement; and I believe this occasion'd another Knight to play the Sculker with the *Northumberland* Gentlemen, notwithstanding his solemn Engagements: But his Conduct in all the Parts of his Life reveal him of being incapable of serving any Side to Advantage or Credit, for his own is sunk with all sincere honest Men. If my old Friend Mr. *Forster* had squeaked, as was not without good Reason suspected, it's believed this Gentleman would have gone out of the World without his Head.

DERWENTWATER'S Pedigree.

THIS Family of *Radcliff* or *Raddlive*, is of good Antiquity, flourish'd at *Keswick* in the County of *Cumberland* for many Generations: It cannot be made appear, that they were the same with the *Ratcliffe* or *Radebiffe* in *Lancashire*, from whom descended the Family of the Earls of *Suffex*; yet it is presumed they are a Branch thereof; for we find one *Sir Thomas Radcliff*, who lived in the time of *Henry V.* by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter to *Sir Thomas Parr* of *Kendal*, had Issue, *Sir Richard Radcliff*, and a younger Son, *John*, who married the Heir-General of the ancient Family of *Derwentwater* in *Cumberland*, where they had long flourish'd, by whom he had Issue *John Radcliff*, who had that Possession.

John, last named, had Issue Three Sons, *John Radcliff* of *Derwentwater*, *Sir Edward*, and *Sir Richard Ratcliff*, Knight of the Garter in the Reign of *Hen. VII.*

John, the elder Son, is probably the same who was Sheriff of *Cumberland* several times, during the Reign of *Hen. VIII.* (as many of his Ancestors had been before) of whom at that Time there were several Descents; but the Issue Male failing, the Estate of *Derwentwater* came to the Descendants of *Sir Edward Radcliff*, Knight, younger Brother of *John*, in the Person of *Sir Edward Radcliff*, Bart. Son of *Sir Francis Radcliff* of *Cartington*, which *Sir Edward* settled at *Derwentwater*, and was created Baronet, vi. *Jac. I. Anno 1619.* He married *Elizabeth*, sole Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Barton*, Esq; and had Issue *Sir Francis Radcliff*, his Son and Heir, and several Daughters.

Sir *Francis Radcliff*, Son and Heir of Sir *Edward*, was created Earl *Derwentwater*, Viscount *Radcliff* and *Langley* in *Com. Cumberland*, and Baron *Radcliff* of *Tyndale*, by Patent dated the 7th of *March* 1687—8. 4 *Jac.* 2. and died *Anno* 1696—7. and was buried at *Dilston*. His Wife was *Catbarine*, Daughter and Heir to Sir *William Fenwick* of *Melton*, *Com. Northumberland* (by his first Wife *Margaret*, Daughter and Heir of Sir *Arthur Grey*, Kt. sixth Son of Sir *Ralph Grey*, of the House of *Wenky*) and Relict of — *Lawson* of *Barough*, in *Com. Ebor.* by whom he had Issue Five Sons, and Four Daughters; *Francis*, his Successor, *Edward* died unmarried, *Thomas*, a Lieutenant-Colonel to —, *William* and *Arthur*; *Anne*, married to Sir *Philip Constable* of *Flamborough*, in *Com. Ebor.* Bart. *Catbarine*, *Elizabeth*, and *Mary*.

Edward his Son and Successor, married in the Lifetime of his Father, *Mary Tudor*, Natural Daughter of King *Charles* the 2d, by Mrs. *Mary Davis*; he died whilst his Father lived, and left Issue *James*, late Earl of *Derwentwater*, Executed on *Tower Hill* for High-Treason against King *George I.* Feb. 24, 1715—6. His second Son died in *London* some Years ago; *Charles* the third Son being taken in the Rebellion, was found Guilty, made his Escape out of *Newgate*. Besides the Three Sons, he left a Daughter, *Mary Tudor Radcliff*, a very fine Lady, late returned from Abroad.

The late *James* Earl of *Derwentwater* married the Daughter of Sir *John Webb*, Bart. who has Issue, a Son and a Daughter.

His Arms,

Argent, a Bend Ingrail'd Sable.

Lord

Lord WIDDRINGTON.

THIS Family has flourished with great Eminence for many Ages in *Northumberland*, and were stiled Lords of *Widdrington*, so early as the Reign of *Hen. 1.*

Sir *Gerrard* was Knight for the County, 10 *Ed. 3.* and *Roger* his Brother, from the 25 of *Ed. 3.* to the 35 of the same Reign.

Sir *John de Widdrington*, Son of *Roger*, was Knight of the said County, 5. and 8 of *Hen. 4.* and Sheriff of *Northumberland*, 11 of *Hen. 4.* and 4 *Hen. 6.*

Roger Son of Sir *John* had the same Office, the 14, 21, and 28 of *Hen. 6.*

Sir *Ralph Widdrington*, Grandson of *Roger*, was made a Banneret in *Scotland* by the Duke of *Gloucester*, 22 of *Edw. 4.*

A Descendant from whom was Sir *Henry Widdrington* of *Widdrington*, Knighted at the Creation of *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, 19 of *Hen. 7.* He had Issue by his Wife *Margery*, Daughter of Sir *Henry Piercy*, Knt. Sir *John* and Four Daughters.

Sir *John* married to his first Wife *Agnes*, Daughter to Sir *James Metcalfe*, Knt. and had Issue Sir *Henry*, who died without Issue, 7 *Eliz.*

Edward Widdrington second Son, who was of *Swinbourne*, and became Heir to his Brother; and a Daughter *Dorothy*, who was married to Sir *Roger Fenwick*, Knt. and secondly to ———— *Constable* Esq; The second Wife of Sir *John*, was *Aune*, Daughter of Sir *Edward Gower* of *Stetnam*, in the County of *York*, by whom he had Issue, *Robert Widdrington* and several others.

Edward Widdrington, Brother and Heir to Sir *Henry Widdrington*, married *Ursula*, Daughter of Sir *Reginald Carnaby* Knt. and had Issue Sir *Henry Widdring-*

Widdrington, *Ralph* second Son, and *Roger* third Son of *Carlington*, Father of *Edward Widdrington*, created a Baronet of *Scotland*, and after of *England*, 16 *Car.* 1. Anno 1642. The Daughters of *Edward Widdrington* of *Widdrington* were: three, *Agnes*, *Dorothy*, and *Catherine*.

Sir *Henry Widdrington* Son and Heir, was Sheriff of *Northumberland* 21 of *Eliz.* and died 13 *Jac.* 1. Anno 1575, and by his Wife *Mary*, Daughter of Sir *Henry Curwen* Knt. he had Sir *William Widdrington* Knt. and three Daughters.

Which Sir *William Widdrington* was created a Baronet, *ib.* *Car.* 1. Anno 1643, and highly distinguished himself by his signal Services to his King in the time of the grand Rebellion, by raising a considerable Power for his Majesty's Service, and had his share in several Exploits: He continued in Arms, and active in his Majesty's Service till all was lost, and then shared in the general Ruin with all the King's Friends. He afterwards attended King *Charles II.* beyond Sea, and in his Voyage to *Scotland*; and had a principal Command in the Army under the Earl of *Derby*, which was employed to open a Passage for the King's March towards *Worcester*; but being met and encounter'd near *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, by a much more numerous Force under *Lilburne*, after a very valiant Resistance was there killed, of whom the Lord *Clarendon* gives a fine Character. He had Issue *William* his Successor, *Henry* and *Ephraim*, who both died young; *Edward*, Captain of Horse, killed at the Battle of the *Boyne*. He had Issue by his second Wife, Sir *Edward Horsley Widdrington*, and *Ralph*, who lost his Eyes in the *Dutch Wars*; *Anthony* who died unmarried, and *Roger* who was killed at the Siege of *Maestricht*; also two Daughters.

To

To whom succeeded *William* his Son and Heir, who took to Wife *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to Sir *Perigrine Bertie* of *Eveden, Com. Lincoln.* a younger Son to *Robert Earl of Lindsey*, by whom he had Issue, *William* his Son and Heir, *Henry*, *Roger*, and *Edward*, which last died unmarried; also six Daughters, *Mary* a Nun, *Elizabeth* a Nun, *Anne* married to Mr. *Clavering* of *Calalee*; *Jane* unmarried, *Dorothy* a Nun, *Catherine* married to Sir *Ed. Southcote*.

William his eldest Son succeeded him, and married *Alathea*, Daughter and Heir of Lord Viscount *Fairfax*, of the Kindgom of *Ireland*, by whom he had Issue *William*, *Charles* and *Peregrine*; also three Daughters, *Appolonia* who took a Religious Habit; *Elizabeth* married to *Marmaduke*, Son and Heir to *Marmaduke Lord Langdale*; and *Mary*, married to Mr. *Townly* of *Townly*.

William, who was in the *Tower* for High-Treason, and now received the Benefit of the Act of Grace, married *Jane*, only Daughter and Heir to Sir *Thomas Tempest* of *Stella*, Baronet, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and hath Issue *Henry*, Born 1702. *Alathea*.

Arms,

Quarterly Argent, Gules a Bend Sable.

Mr.

*Mr. Gascoigne's LETTER to a Friend, a little
before his Execution.*

DEAR SIR,

I Cannot leave the World without some Tokens of Gratitude for the many and undeserved Favours which I have received from you; therefore I send this by the Hands of the Reverend Father, with my Prayers to the Divine Being, That he will shower down such Blessings upon you, in his good time, as may return the many good Offices you have done me Seven-fold. What you have done for my Body under a crazy state, and the Wants that are generally attendant upon Prisoners divested of all Necessaries of Life, require more Acknowledgments than I am capable of paying; but the Care you have taken in providing for the Welfare of my poor and immortal Soul, by sending this holy Man to assist me with his Prayers and Advice, is beyond Expression. 'Tis to this Act of Compassion that I owe the Recovery of myself from a State of Perdition, than which, nothing could have been more ruinous and miserable: To this, that I am rescued out of the Jaws of Eternal Death, and can say with the blessed Apostle, O Death, where is thy Sting! O Grave, where is thy Victory! Nor can I leave the World without due Acts of Acknowledgment for so endearing, so invaluable a Favour.

Be pleased then, to accept this last Testimony of Gratitude which is not in Words to express, and to believe I am ready to pass through the Vale of Death with all Chearfulness, being well assured of Eternal Bliss and Salvation, through the Merits of Christ Jesus our common Saviour, and the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and of Saints and Angels, with him that sitteth upon the Throne, and will at the last Day judge the World in Righteousness.

I have

I have nothing more than to desire your and all good Catholics Prayers, and to take care that the Paper inclosed in this, a Copy of which I intend, God willing, to give the Sheriff at the Place of Execution, may be made Publick as I have written it; and ask leave to subscribe, Dear Sir,

Your Dying Friend,

and most Humble Servant,

R. Gascoigne.

A LETTER to the Author.

S I R,

I Have seen the Character which you have given the brave Earl of Strathmore; you have done him nothing but Justice. I beg you will be so kind as to give this Letter a Place in your next Edition, which may still add to preserve the Memory of that never to be forgotten Hero: He is descended from one of the best and ancientest Families in Scotland, being Chief of the Name of Lyon; he was a Youth of very promising Qualifications, of unshaken Courage, and steadfast Zeal to the Pretender; being brought up in those Principles that infused such into him, that made him adhere to the Companions of his Fate. He raised a Regiment out of his own Dependants and Followers, who were sent over the Forth with Mac-Intosh; but he and his Lieutenant Colonel Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, were forced back in their design of crossing the Forth into the Isle of May, where he made the Greatness of his Soul visible, by the resolute and obstinate Defence which he made on that Island against his Majesty's

Majesty's Ships, by intrenching himself and those with him, and made this memorable Speech to his Followers: Gentlemen, We are embarked in a Cause which should be dear to every Scotsman, who study to have themselves freed from English Bondage, into which the Enemies of our Country have betrayed us: I hope you will exert yourselves upon this Occasion; I shall make my Sincerity visible, by exposing my Person where the greatest Danger offers itself, thinking it my Glory to die in this Cause. All the Gentlemen and Common Men gave their Parole of Honour to stand by him to the last Drop of Blood; but they saved their Honour and Blood by finding a Way to get into Fife. If this noble Lord had been instructed in the Principles of the Established Government, he would have been the greatest Glory of his Age: But yet it must be allowed, that Men are not to be buried in Oblivion, that have Generosity and Greatness of Mind to defend the Cause which they espouse.

I am Yours,

July 15, 1717.

W—m D—fs.

The Lord LOVATT's Account of the taking of Inverness; with other Advantages obtain'd over the Rebels in the North of Scotland.

ON the 15th of *September*, the Laird of *Macintosh* convened his Men at *Farr*, as was given out, to review them; but in the Evening he marched strait to *Inverness*, where he came by Sun-rising with Colours displayed; and after he had made himself Master of what Arms and Ammunition he could find, and some little Money that belonged to the Publick, proceeded to proclaim the Pretender King, under the Name of *James the VIIIth of Scotland, and IIIrd of England*. At this time *Jean Gordon, Lady Culloden*, found it absolutely necessary, for the Safety of a great many of the King's Friends and their Goods, to shut up the House of *Culloden*, where she had taken in great Store of Provision. Her Husband, then Member of Parliament, tho' at *London*, had some very good Arms in his House, and ordered One Hundred Men to be taken in, knowing that the Rebels could not omit to Garison it, being a very strong House, and so near *Inverness*, that it hinder'd any to go or come from it on that side of the Water of *Nefs*; which *M^r Intosh* finding, sent a Message to the Lady to give up the House; but she refusing it, he went himself, and spoke to the Lady over a Window, but to no purpose. She understood that there was no Means but the Rebels would use to have that House, which might be so troublesome to *Inverness*, that now there was a Garison of Four Hundred Men settled, of the Name of *M^r Kenzie of Coull*. Upon the 20th of *September*, *M^r Intosh* march'd with six Hundred Men, the first of all the Clans, towards the Earl of *Mar*, who then had set
up

up the publick Standard of Rebellion. The want of Cannon was the only Thing that grieved the Lady *Culloden*; but being informed that there was a Merchant Ship lying in the Harbour of *Inverness*, which had six Guns on Board, and a Number of Ball for them; she detached a Party of Fifty Men, under Silence of the Night by Boats, who had the six Pieces of Cannon before it was Day mounted upon the House to the great Surprize of the *Jacobites* in the Town, who look'd upon that Cannon as their Security.

While this loyal Lady was fortifying her House, she had the good Luck of being assisted by the Arrival of Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, her Brother-in-law, who from that Time distinguished himself both by his Wit and Resolution; that if Things were acted by the Rebels according to the Hardiness expected from them, it might be improper to have such a Governor and Governess in one House, and some other Places not so well served.

The Earl of *Seaforth*, who was nominated Lieutenant-General, and Commander in chief of the Northern Counties to his Majesty K. *James VIII.* (for so was the Designation then) was not idle, gathered his Men from the *Lewes*, and all his Inland Country, to the Place of *Braban*, where Sir *Donald M'donald* of *Slate* with 600 Men, and the Laird of *M'kinnon* with 150, join'd him. *Alexander M'kenzie* of *Frazerdale*, who assumed a Command of the Name of *Frazer* by his Lady, had forced together 400 of that Name, which, with the 100 Men that *Chisolme* (who is Vassal to that Family) had, made up 500 under *Frazerdale's* Command, which lay at and about *Castledouny*, five Miles from *Braban*, and six from *Inverness*: But the *Frazers* of *Struy*, *Foyer*, *Culduthell*, &c. kept the rest of that Name on Foot for the Government, having Assurance that the Lord

Levat, their natural Chief, was at *London*, firm for the Protestant Succession, and daily expected. This procured them not only the Ridicule, but the Objects of the Rebels Threats. *Frazerdale* finding his Party few to what he expected, resolv'd (if it was possible) to bring those Gentlemen into their Party; and so wrote to *Struy* and *Foyer*, that he wanted much to meet with them, in order to satisfy them with the Justice and Reasonableness of what they were to rise for; and that he hoped either he should satisfy them, or that they would him.

The Gentlemen upon his Letter resolv'd to trust him, and shew him freely that they would continue firm to the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd: And having come with 150 Men near his House of *Castledouny*, they were told he was at *Braban* with my Lord *Seaforth*, from whom they immediately receiv'd a Message by one *Donald Murchison*, Factor to the Lord *Seaforth*; that he understood they had got in Arms, and that, answerable to his Power as Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief of those Counties, he demanded them to join him, and have themselves list'd to serve his Majesty K. *James VIII.* To which they return'd Answer, That they were Protestants of the Low-Church, and that they would let his Lordship know so much whenever he pleas'd. But in the mean time that his Message was deliver'd them, he detach'd 600 Men, commanded by *M'kenzie* of *Frazerdale*, *Aplecrofs*, and *Fairburn*, with an Order to take them dead or alive; but by good Luck it was one of the most boisterous Nights that could be; and when they came to the Place, they found that they had been apprized of their Coming, and had got themselves in a Posture of Defence; which oblig'd them to return, half starv'd with Cold and Hunger.

Here

Here was seen the Honour and Conduct of the one who was a Protestant Commander, whose Letter brought those Gentlemen there, and the other a Popish General, who would not give his own Honour the fair Play of staying for the Return of his Message, but sent his Party to cut off those Gentlemen, who look'd upon themselves safe during their Treating. The Earl of *Sutherland*, who was sent down from Court to command in the North of *Scotland*, had got of the *Mackays*, *Rosses*, *Monroes*, and his own Men, 1800 together at a Place in *Ross* called *Alnes*, and thought proper to divert *Seaforth* from joining *Mar*; that the King's other Friends in the North, who were in Readiness to join him, if they could come together, they would have been able to give the Earl of *Seaforth*, or *Huntley*, or both, Battel: But *Seaforth* finding himself 4000 strong, and *Sutherland* but 1800, thought it was fit to take the Advantage, and so march'd directly towards *Alnes*, where *Sutherland* lay; who found, that by retiring to *Sutherland*, *Seaforth* would be for some Time diverted, and he would save his Men from fighting so unequally. *Seaforth* coming to *Alnes*, which is the *Monroes* Country, allowed his Men to commit all the Barbarity that could be expected from *Turks*, destroy'd all the Corn and Cattle in the Country, took of every thing that was useful within as well as without Doors; lodg'd their Men in the Churches, where they kill'd Cattle, and did every thing disrespectful to Places of Worship; and treated the Ministers, of all the People, the worst; took some Gentlemen Prisoners; and now believed, that since *Sutherland* retired, all the Cause was gain'd there.

Next Care was to come to *Inverness*, and settle a stronger Garison in it; reduce the pitiful Whig-house Garisons, as they called *Culloden* and *Killra-*

wock Houses, and force all the silly People who stood out along with them.

Being come to *Inverness*, General *Seaforth* called a Council of War, where were present the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *Donald M'Donald*, *Frazerdale*, *M'Kinnon*, the *Cbifolmes*, and several other Officers, besides Sir *John M'Kenzie* of *Coul* the Governor, where it was resolved that *Culloden* House must be reduced at any Rate ; and so commanded Mr. *George M'Kenzie* of *Grumziord* to go with a Trumpet along with him, and summon the House formally to surrender. Coming to the Place, *Grumziord* ordered the Trumpet to Sound, and called to Mr. *Duncan* who kept the House : Mr. *Forbes* not only told him, but shewed him, that the House was not in their Reverence, and so Defiance was returned for Answer. But in a second Council of War, the Lord *Duffus* was sent in order to reduce Mr. *Forbes* by Reason, or otherwise to assure him of the hardest Treatment if the House was taken. But my Lord returned without Success ; and so a Disposition was made for the Siege, and the Party for the Attack order'd ; but finding that the House was strong, and the Governor and Garison obstinate and brave, after twelve Days Deliberation, marched forward toward their Grand Camp at *Pertb*. From *Inverness* they marched to *Strath-Spey*, the Laird of *Grant's* Country, where they found the *Grants* all in Arms, in order to secure their Country from harm ; they only asked some Baggage Horses to the next Country, and Quarter'd their Men civilly, and returned the Horses home next Day ; and so they joined the Earl of *Mar* at *Pertb*, where they continued till the decisive Stroke of *Dumblain*, from whence they returned in a Hundred Parties, to the Satisfaction of many who were very careful of disarming them in their Retreat. But the four Hundred

dred *Frazers* that Mr. *M' Kenzie* had brought there four Days before to *Dumblain*, hearing that the Lord *Lovat* was come home, deserted that Cause, and came home full armed with their Affection to their Natural Chief, and their Love to the Protestant Interest; for which that Name distinguished themselves since the Reformation, was plainly seen in their Services thereafter, till the Rebellion was extinguished. On the 5th of *November*, the Lord *Lovat*, with Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, arrived at *Culloden's* House, from whence my Lord wrote to the Gentlemen of his Name that stood for the Government, to come and receive him: *Ross* of *Killravock*, and *Forbes* of *Culloden*, conducted him with three Hundred Men by *Inverness*, near the Bounds of his own Country; he was informed, that *M' Donald* of *Keppoch* was marching with three Hundred Men to reinforce Sir *John M' Kenzie* of *Coull* at *Inverness*. My Lord had concerted with Captain *George Grant*, who then commanded that Name in Absence of his Brother *Ross* of *Killravock*, and *Forbes* of *Culloden*, that he should go through all his Countries and get all his Men together, and that then they would invest *Inverness*. But finding now that *Keppoch* was on his March, resolved to intercept *Keppoch* in his Road, and so resolved to cross the River *Ness*; but just as he was ready to cross, he gets an Account, that what were not marched to *Perth* of the *M' Intoshes*, were in Arms ready to go into *Inverness* and strengthen that Garrison. Upon which, having consulted the Gentlemen that were with him, resolved to disperse those *M' Intoshes*, and so came directly on his Way to the Place where he heard they lay; and on his Way found two or three of their chief Gentlemen, which bound themselves for the peaceable Behaviour of such as were at home, and that they would give up their Arms, and give in any

thing they could afford in *Inverness*, when they were Masters of it. His Lordship having on the 7th of *November* crossed the Water, resolved to throw himself in directly betwixt *Kepoch* and Sir *John*, who hearing of his coming, resolved to sally out, and that *Kepoch* on one side, and he on the other, would attack him. But *Kepoch* finding himself not safe to go forward, returned home by the Country of *Urquharts*, belonging to the Laird of *Grant*, where he did several Barbarities, and carried off three or four Gentlemen Prisoners, in hopes they would relieve themselves by a Booty, which they not yielding to, he dismissed in two or three Days. Upon News of *Kepoch's* sudden retiring, my Lord *Lovat* marches strait to the Town of *Inverness*, and in his way found some Cows that belonged to the Garison, kept by a Guard, which he took, and chased in one other Party to the Town. Having settled his Men within a Mile of the Town, ordered a Party to the side of the *Firth*, to stop any Boats coming with any Succours of Men or Provisions to the Garison; and now he began to think that it was not reasonable to be idle a Minute, and so acquaints *Ross* of *Killravock*, and *Forbes* of *Culloden*, who had the Town Blockaded on the East-side of *Ness*, that it was proper to attempt the Town, since the *Grants* were eight Hundreded on their March. Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, a Man that was most active in these Affairs, hardly giving himself Rest, was order'd to go and concert some things with my Lord *Lovat*, and *Arthur Ross*, Brother to the Laird of *Killravock*; a young Gentleman that had been Captive in *Turkey* for many Years before, and but just come home, was order'd to cover Mr. *Forbes's* passing the River with a Party: He finding the Rebels Guard relieving their Centinels by the River-side, pursued them so close to the heart of the Town, that entering

tering the *Talbooth* Door, where the Governor had lodged himself with his Main Guard, he was by the Centinel within shot through the Body, and thereafter he discharged two Pistols he had under his Sash, among the Guard, and had they not crushed his Sword-Hand in forcing the Door close, he might have lived some longer time than he did, which was but about ten Hours.

At the Alarm of this Shooting, the whole Garifon got to Arms, firing so from all Quarters, that the six or seven Men that came up with Mr. *Ross*, had very good luck to escape. The Death of this gallant Gentleman so vex'd my Lord his Brother, and all his other Friends, that they swore Revenge of his Blood, and accordingly summoned the Town to send out their Garifon and Governor, or if they did not, they would burn the Town, and put them all to the Sword. The Governor expecting no great Favour from East or West-side, was in a Surprise. My Lord ordered all the Men to be ready, which the Governor finding, on *Saturday* the tenth of *November* got together all the Boats he could find, and with high Water made off with all imaginable Confusion, to the Joy and Grief of the fundry Parties within. *Ross* of *Kilravock*, and *Colloden's* Men lay at and about *Colloden*, the eight Hundred *Grants* to the Westward of them two Miles; and the Lord *Levat* who had got of his Name five Hundred together on the North and West-side of the Town, marched all in, having prepared Bullets for their Men. They now found it convenient to let the Earl of *Sutherland* know they had the Town: And his Lordship receiving my Lord *Levat's* Letter, returned him a very kind Letter, wherein he was glad his Lordship, by his Conduct and Diligence, was sufficiently entitled to the King's Favour, and that none would more truly represent it than he.

At

At this time the Earl had got together his Men, and the others that were with him in *Ross*, and was to march forward to join that considerable Body that were then together at *Inverness*: His Lordship being thirty six Miles from *Inverness*, marched his Men, being a considerable Number, to the Western Division of *Ross*, where they encamped; and his Lordship, with the Lord *Rae*, *Monro* of *Fouls*, and several other Gentlemen, came into *Inverness* on *Tuesday* the 13th of *November*; which Day we had the joyful News of his Grace the Duke of *Argyle's* Victory at *Dumblain*, which was observed with great Solemnity of Joy; and two Days thereafter, having left Colonel *Robert Monro* of *Fouls*, Governor of *Inverness* there, with a suitable Party, the Earl of *Sutherland* with his Men, and the Lord *Lovat* with a part of his Men, went to the Place of *Braban*, and obliged all the responsible Men of the *M^r Kenzie's* that were not with my Lord *Seaforth* at *Perth*, to secure their peaceable Behaviour, and return the Arms taken from the *Monro's* by my Lord *Seaforth* before, and release the Prisoners, and that they would not assist my Lord *Seaforth* directly or indirectly; and that they would answer to his Lordship of *Sutherland* any Sum of Money he required for the use of the Government, upon a due Advertisement; and that the Lord of *Seaforth's* House of *Braban* would be made a Garison for his Majesty King *George*.

Things being put in this order in that Country, the *Monroes* being left at *Inverness*, the Earl of *Sutherland* marched with his Men; the *Frazer's*, the *M^r Kay's*, the *Ross's*, *Killravock's* Men, *Culloiden's*, and Sir *Archibald Campbell* Tutor of *Calder*, with a Party of two Hundred to *Murray*, to bring that Country's Disaffection to good Order, and divert my Lord *Huntley* from crossing the River *Spey*,
who

who made the Rocks in that Country resound his Resolutions, having got, as he gave out, new Orders, and a Detachment sent with General *Eclin* to him from *Perth*: But they were not long in that Country, when things were put in that Condition, that the Earl of *Sutherland* came back to *Inverness*, and left the Lord *Lovat*, *Killravock*, Sir *Archibald Campbell*, &c. behind, to act as he directed them, and as Matters required. The *Murray Jacks* being put in pretty good Order, the King's Authority own'd over all the Country, it was thought proper to send *Hugh Frazier* of *Foyer* to *Stirling*, to let the Duke of *Argyle* know how Matters stood, and receive his Grace's Command. The whole Country betwixt *Fort-William* and *Aberdeen* being in the Rebels Hands, except *Murray* and *Strath Spey*, he was obliged to go all over the Country under the Silence of Night, in the deepest Storm that was seen of a long time: Having given Sir *Robert Pollock*, Governor of *Fort-William*, the News of their Country, he went forward for *Dunstaffnage*, and from thence to *Inverary*, where he gave the Earl of *Boat*, who then commanded there, Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnell*, and Colonel *Alexander Campbell* of *Faunab*, account of their Country; and went forward to *Glasgow*, where he found the whole Town rejoicing at the good Account of Affairs from the North; and having got the Magistrates Pass, went forward for *Stirling*, where he arrived the 17th of *December*, and was introduced to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* by Brigadier General *Grant*, Lieutenant of the County of *Inverness*. His Grace was mighty well pleased that Matters went so well there, and took particular Pleasure and Care to examine every leading Man's Zeal and Conduct; in which Examination he took up near two Hours, and the next Day made his Orders ready,

ready, and order'd him aboard a Ship belonging to the Town of *Forres*, that lay ready at *Boronsounnes* to sail ; but being informed that there was a great many Barks cruising on the Coast of *Fife* and *Angus*, belonging to the Rebels, and had taken some People and Arms that were bound North, ordered him to steer his Course home through the Mountains, as he came there, which he did ; tho' he was so close pursued by the Rebels, that he was forced to take shelter in the Garison of *Fort-William* for several Days. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Men very active, and of special Intelligence, having got particular Notice, that all the Fords and Passes were so guarded for him that he could not escape, kept him with all imaginary Care and Civility, till by a Country Man he was conducted privately through the Hills, and arrived safe at *Inverness*. At this time Mr. *Alexander Gordon* of *Ardoch*, and Lieutenant *Donald M' Neil*, were sent down to the Earl of *Sutherland* with Arms and some Money, which was very much wanting : And had not Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, who had an Interest in the Town of *Inverness*, taken up a considerable Sum, the Men had been very much in want.

During this time the Earl of *Seaforth* was not idle, having got his Men that scatter'd at *Dumblain* together near *Braban*. My Lord *Huntley*, on the other hand, made the World believe he was with all Fury to attack the Earl of *Sutherland* and those with him : *Seaforth* and his Friends thought that with boasting *Sutherland* would retire a second time, but found it otherwise. The Earl of *Sutherland* hearing that the Highlanders that run home from *Dumblain* were to be at a Head, and join *Seaforth*, marched with his own Men, my Lord *Rae's* Men, the *Mourees*, and the *Rosses*, of each but Parties, made

made up 800 ; 200 of the *Grants*, *Culloden*, and the *Frazers*, making up the rest of 800, lay at *Bewley* near *Lovat*, within four Miles of *Seaforth's* Camp, whose Boasting surpassed Rehearsal. The Earl, my Lord *Lovat*, and the other Gentlemen, being moved by their Menaces, resolve to give them Battle. *Fouls*, who in all these Transactions was forward and diligent, with a People of good Principle and Resolution, wanted nothing more than one good Stroke to avenge their bad Usage before by them ; to be sure *Culloden's* Men wanted not good Will ; and if the *Frazer's* had not Reason by their former Attempt upon them, any Man may judge. The People being all found well resolv'd and cheerful, were put in order for the Diversion ; which when my Lord *Seaforth* saw, he thought convenient to Capitulate, own the King's Authority, disperse his Men, and propose the Mediation of these Government Friends for his Pardon.

Upon his Submission, and after the King was graciously pleased to send down Orders, That upon giving up his Arms, and coming into *Inverness*, he might expect his Pardon : Yet upon the *Prétender's* Arrival at *Perth*, and my Lord *Huntley's* Suggestions to him, that now was the Time for them to appear for their King and Country, and that what Honour they lost at *Dumblain* might yet be regain'd : But while he this insinuated to my Lord *Seaforth*, he privately found that my Lord *Seaforth* had, by being an early Suiter for the King's Pardon, by promising to lay down his Arms, and owning the King's Authority, claimed in a great Measure to an Assurance of his Life and Fortune, which he thought proper for himself to purchase at the Rate of disappointing *Seaforth*, with Hopes of standing by the Good Old Cause, till *Seaforth*, with that van Hopes, lost the King's Favour that was promised

promised him : Which *Huntley* embraced, by taking the very first Opportunity of deserting the *Pretender's* Cause, and surrendering himself upon Terms made with him of Safety to his Life and Fortune. This founded so sweet with him, that he slept so secure, as never to dream of any Preservation for a great many good Gentlemen that made choice to stand by him, and serve under him ; tho' many other Worthy Nobles would Die or Banish, rather than not shew their Personal Bravery, and all other Friendly Offices to their Adherents.

Tho' the King's Order was sent down for taking the *Mac Kenzie's* Arms and *Seaforth's*, having the Liberty of the Town of *Inverness*, the Hopes of the Pretender's Cause taking Life again, made him defer coming in from Day to Day, till it was found out again that he designed to rise yet a-new : While in these middle of the Hopes, the main Chance was blasted, the Duke of *Argyle* marched from *Stirling* towards *Pertb* ; the Pretender not only abandon'd *Pertb*, but the whole Cause, left some of his Worthiest Friends untaken leave of, and the rest all at the Mercy of the Enemy ; but they had to deal with Christians, true Protestants, and faithful Subjects to the best of Protestant Kings. After the Pretender left the Country by Sea, his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, at the Head of Ten Thousand gallant Troops, came to *Aberdeen*, and from thence ordered Brigadier General *Grant*, with a Detachment to *Inverness*, and sent Detachments to the several proper Places in those Countries ; and then sent Major-General *Wightman* to *Inverness*, who went carefully through the Countries of *West* and *East Ross*, and upon Information took in the Earl of *Cromarty*, and some other *Mac Kenzie's* Prisoners, and ordered, that upon giving in their Arms, such as were not Attainted might live peaceably and improve the Country.

His

His Grace having now put an End to the General Rebellion, went up to Court, leaving Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* to Command, who with Four Thousand Horse and Foot marched by *Perth* to *Blair of Athol*, and from thence to *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*, where one *Mac Donald* of *Gallowie*, and some *Mac Pherfons*, Vassals to my Lord *Huntly*, contemning the Order given for furnishing the Necessaries for the Army, and giving up their Arms, had their Lands burnt, and all their Cattle taken in. From *Ruthven* of *Badenoch*, he marched the Troops to *Borlum* near *Inverness*, the Seat of Brigadier *Mackintosh*, appointed a Party to *Seaforth's* Country to take in all their Arms, and order'd the Garisons in all their considerable Houses to be continued as General *Wighman* placed them, and commanded Mr. *George Monro* of *Culcairn*, and Lieutenant *Donald Mac Neil*, with a Party through all the *Higblands* and *Isles*, to bring in all the Arms, and apprehend any Attainted Rebel they could find, which they did accordingly. From *Borlum* he went to *Fort-William*, and viewed that Place; ordered the Garison of *Glengary* Castle, and appointed Brigadier *Pettit*, and some others with him, to survey some Ground at the Head of *Lochness* for a Fort, which was done; and all Things being in good Quiet, his Excellency went to Court, leaving the Command upon Lieutenant-General *Sabine*.

So much from one who was Eye-witness to what is here said.

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